

**INFLUENCE OF EXTERNAL ACTORS ON NATIONAL
INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY
POLICY FORMULATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:
CASE OF MALAWI**



By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis

**Influence of External Actors on National Information and Communications Technology
Policy Formulation in Developing Countries: Case of Malawi**

is my own work, and all sources have been acknowledged through referencing

Signed by candidate

.....

Gregory Kunyenje

PREFACE

Some publications as conference proceedings constitute parts of this thesis and include:

Conference paper accepted

- **Kunyenje, G., & Chigona, W.** (2019). Nexus between country context and the role of external actors in the formulation of national Information and Communication Technology policies, The 15th International on Social Implications of Computers in Developing Countries, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, May 2019: *Conference of 2019 IFIP WG 9.4*

Conference proceedings

- **Kunyenje, G., & Chigona, W.** (2017). External actors' influence on national ICT policy in developing countries: A literature review. *Conference on Information Systems & Technology (ACIST)*, Cape Town, South Africa, July 2017
- Metfula, A. S., **Kunyenje, G., & Chigona, W.** (2016). The Influence of External Actors in the Formulation of National Information and Communications Technology Policies in Developing Countries: Case of Swaziland, *2016 International Conference on Advances in Computing and Communication Engineering (ICACCE)*, Durban, South Africa, December 2016
- **Kunyenje, G., & Chigona, W.** (2016). Towards the effect of external agencies on national information and communication technology policies development in developing countries: Case of Africa - IST-Africa Week Conference, 2016, *The IST-Africa 2016 Conference on ICT4D*, Durban, South Africa, May 2016

Journal

- **Kunyenje, G., & Chigona, W.** (2019). External Actors in Forming National ICT Policy in Malawi: A Cause for Concern in Low-Income Countries?, *The African Journal of Information Systems*: Vol. 11 : Iss. 1 , Article 2.

Acceptance of these scholarly articles has given direction to the production of this thesis.

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DEDICATION

To the memory of the late Francesca Agnes Kunyenje

ABSTRACT

Problem statement – A national Information and Communication Technology (ICT) policy is important towards attainment of socio-economic development of a country. Like other public policies, the formulation and implementation of national ICT policy is a government's responsibility. In developing countries, the formulation of national ICT policies is mostly influenced by actors who are external to a country. The external influence may affect the soundness of the resulting public ICT policy during a policy making activity and in turn affect the needs of society in a country. There is need, therefore, for research focusing on the effects of the external influence in the formulation of a public ICT policy in Africa. Currently, there is dearth of research in this area.

Purpose of the research – This study analysed how the influence of external actors affects the formulation of national ICT policies in Africa by: (1) investigating the engagement between external and local actors, (2) identifying categories of influence of external actors and (3) exploring the link between country context and influence of external actors. A study analysing how the influence of external actors affects the formulation of national ICT policy in developing countries may contribute towards the effectiveness of the public ICT policy that may lead to better management of interaction between internal and external actors.

Design/methodology/approach – The study adopted a critical research approach and drew on Bourdieu's Theory of Practice as a theoretical lens to examine how the influence of external actors affects the formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries. This was a qualitative study, which used Malawi as a case study. Primary data were collected through semi-structured interviews with 18 respondents who took part in the formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi. Secondary data for the research were sourced from policy documents and reports from Malawi and from other African countries. Data analysis in the Malawi case applied thematic analysis while content analysis was used for the five comparative case countries.

Findings – The study finds that there is little engagement between local and external actors during public ICT policy formulation. The findings also show that the influence of external actors is likely to affect formulation of public ICT policies in poor countries. The external actors use different forms of capital and consequently play roles such as setting a policy agenda and setting policy priorities for a developing country which is contrary to the tradition of

external actors providing funding and technical support. Further, the study finds that when external actors set the policy agenda for a country then local actors may adopt content prescribed by the external actors in the resulting policy.

Originality/contributions – This thesis makes contributions to knowledge: (1) the use of Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice to explore and explain how the influence of external actors affects the formulation of a national ICT policy; (2) the body of knowledge on national ICT policy formulation research; and (3) the identification of appropriate theories that can inform future research in the formulation of a national ICT policy in Africa.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
AFORD	Alliance for Democracy
AISI	African Information Society Initiative
ANT	Actor-Network Theory
BAM	Bankers Association of Malawi
BCAP	British Central African Protectorate
CE	Council of Europe
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CRASA	Communications Regulators' Association of Southern Africa
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DFID	Department for International Development
DISTMS	Department of Information Systems and Technology Management Services
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EU	European Union
G7	Group of 7
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIIC	Global Information Infrastructure Commission
GNP	Gross national product
GoM	Government of Malawi
HDI	Human Development Index
HLWG	High Level Working Group
IBM	International Business Machines Corporation
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ICT4D	Information and Communications Technology for Development
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IGO	International Governing Organisations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IS	Information Systems
IT	Information Technology
ITTF	Information Technology Task Force
ITU	International Telecommunications Union

JICA	Japanese International Co-operation Agency
MACRA	Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MG	Malawi Government
MICOTA	Malawi Information and Communication Technical Authority
MICTA	Malawi Information and Communications Technology Agency
MPRS	Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategic Plan
MTEC	Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Communications
NAACs	National Acacia Advisory Committees
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NICI	National Information and Communication Infrastructure
NICTWG	National ICT Working Group
NII	National Information Infrastructure
NSO	National Statistical Office
ODA	Overseas Development Aid
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PNA	Policy Network Analysis
PP	Peoples Party
PS	Principal Secretary
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SEDP	Social and Economic Development and Planning
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SLR	Systematic Literature Review
TCA	Theory of Communicative Action
ToP	Bourdieu's Theory of Practice
UDF	United Democratic Front
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
US	United States

USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

National Information and Communications Technology (ICT) policies have the potential to contribute to governments' efforts to address social, political and economic dimensions of a country (Avgerou, 2010; Diga, Nwaiwu, & Plantinga, 2013; Thompson & Walsham, 2010). Through an effective public ICT policy a government may, inter alia, facilitate timely dissemination of public information to its citizens and improve service delivery (Amoretti, 2007; Chavula & Chekol, 2010; Fatile, 2012) in addition to increasing the economic potential of the poor in society (Diga et al., 2013). This study examines how the influence of external actors affects formulation of a national ICT policy in Africa. In this thesis, *external actor* refers to non-national (foreign) players that in one way or the other influence the policy process in a country and include international organisations such as bilateral and multilateral donors that are based in the country where the policy is developed. The study uses formulation of a national ICT policy in Malawi, a developing country located in East Africa.

This chapter presents the background to the study, explains the research purpose and outlines the research problem. The chapter also presents the research question and outlines the research objectives of the study. In addition, the chapter explains the research approach, highlights the significance of the study, and the last section contains the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Background to the study

A national ICT policy is a formal specification of the “objectives, goals, principles and strategies” that are “intended to direct and control” implementation and application of ICTs (Odongo, 2012, p.192). National ICT policies are important towards attainment of socio-economic development and poverty alleviation of a country (Sein & Harindranath, 2004; Thompson & Walsham, 2010). The importance of ICT policies extends to focus areas such as in enhancing agricultural production (Chavula & Chekol, 2010), information dissemination and service delivery (Baliamoune-Lutz, 2003; Fatile, 2012), among others. ICTs have the potential to advance the development of citizens in a country through strategic areas of poverty alleviation, improvement of healthcare and enhancement of education (Chacko, 2005; Fatile, 2012). These strategic areas relate to implementation and application of ICTs (Odongo, 2012),

which are some of the objectives of a national ICT policy. This means that an effective national ICT policy is crucial towards addressing societal needs.

1.2.1 Sphere of influence of public ICT policies

Public ICT policies can be categorised as vertical, infrastructural or horizontal. Vertical ICT policies apply in different dimensions such as health, agriculture and education while infrastructural policies address issues of infrastructure such as telecommunications (Yusuf, 2005). The policies are said to be horizontal in situations where they deal with broader issues of society such as freedom of information including privacy and security (Yusuf, 2005). This classification shows that national ICT policies are cross-cutting and may affect or be affected by other public policies. The classification also means that national ICT policies can be discussed in relation to economic, social and political dimensions of a country.

ICTs play an important role in various social, political and economic dimensions of society and are in line with the suggestion that a wider participation of citizens in an economy may result in economic development (Gillwald, 2010). However, Africa's socio-economic underdevelopment has been attributed to failure to develop and implement strategic public ICT policies (Chavula & Chekol, 2010). This shows that national ICT policies are significant in a country since they affect a wide range of sectors in society.

1.2.2 Actors in a policy process

Participants in a policy process, in which policy formulation is a part, are called *policy actors* and these normally operate within a policy network (Moran, Rein, & Goodin, 2006; Thissen & Walker, 2013). An actor in policy-making may be an individual, an organisation or a group of people taking part in a policy-making activity (Knoepfel, Larrue, Varone, & Hill, 2007). This research defines a *policy actor* as an individual, group of people, public or private institutions or any organisation taking part in formulating a policy-making activity but not confined to a policy network. A government is the main actor in all public policy-making activities, although ideas for the policy may come from other actors from both public and private sectors (Birkland, 2015). In addition, the government defines the public problem or issue to be addressed and recruits policy actors to find solutions to the problem (Dye, 2013). Although formulation of most national ICT policies in Africa has involved local and external actors, actors who are external to a country have largely influenced the policy-making activities (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, Kunyenje, & Chigona, 2016; Odongo, 2012). Despite this

revelation, there is a scarcity of research in Africa that has examined how the influence of the external actors affects formulation of public ICT policies in developing countries suggesting a need for more research in the area.

In addition, shared interests and values among policy actors in the development of public ICT policies are vital for the policies to be meaningful and effective (Kendall, Kendall, & Kah, 2006). Policies emerge from bargaining among policy actors with shared interests and values, which are critical attributes among the actors in a policy-making activity (Rhodes, 2007). However, in most cases in the formulation of national ICT policies in Africa, the actors have gone into the policy-making arena without shared interests and values. For example, the development of the national ICT policy in Kenya involved the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and local actors (Etta & Elder, 2005; Odongo, 2012). While the local actors intended the ICT policy to be used for regulating and directing usage of ICTs in the country, UNESCO's interest in the policy process was to get easy access to the country's "cooperative information resources" (Adam & Gillwald, 2007, p.2). In the same vein, while local actors were interested in developing a national ICT policy for Swaziland (now Eswatini) that would encompass broad issues of society, UNESCO, which funded the process, was primarily interested in introducing ICTs in colleges and in the development of an educational ICT policy (Metfula, 2013). The differences in interests and values may affect the soundness or effectiveness of the resulting public ICT policy during a policy-making activity (Considine, Lewis, & Alexander, 2009).

1.2.3 Types of external influences during policy-making

Formulation of national ICT policies involves both local and external actors. However, the role of external actors includes provision of funding, a generic blueprint such as a National Information and Communication Infrastructure (NICI) framework, technical support and promotion of policy ideas, which have been deemed as forms of external influence in previous studies (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Kunyenje & Chigona, 2017; Metfula et al., 2016). For example, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and UNESCO funded the development of public ICT policies in four countries in East Africa. Similarly, the Finnish Government and UNESCO funded development of the national ICT policy for Eswatini (Metfula, 2013). The readiness of international agencies to fund the process made the policy process in these countries possible (Etta & Elder, 2005; Odongo, 2012), which may mean that without funding these countries could not have embarked on the policy process.

These examples further suggest that, through provision of funding, external actors influence national ICT policy-making in Africa.

External actors also facilitated formulation of public ICT policies in Africa through use of the NICI framework. Earlier work shows that as of 2007 nearly 84% of countries in Africa had formulated national ICT policies (Adam & Gillwald, 2007), most of which have been influenced with the support of external actors (Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013). Of these countries, 67% have used the NICI framework in developing the public ICT policies (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The framework is a standardised and generic framework, which was developed with support from a number of international agencies such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) for use in formulating national ICT policies in African countries. Thirty-three percent (33%) of the 84% adopted an incremental approach under which a policy was created based on blocks and focused on “building blocks like telecommunications infrastructure, enabling policies and incentives for private sector and promoting education” (Adam & Gillwald, 2007, p.7). The incremental route was an alternative approach to the NICI model which relied on local expertise in formulating the public ICT policies. Another study shows that 42 of the 54 countries in Africa had formulated national ICT policies by 2009, most of which adopted the framework that UNECA and other international agencies supported (Chavula & Chekol, 2010). Since the studies by Adam and Gillwald (2007) and Chavula and Chekol (2010), not much has been documented on other countries that have developed national ICT policies in Africa.

Previous studies discourage the use of blueprints or standardised frameworks in formulating public policies. Use of blueprints during development of a public ICT policy is a recipe for failure, and may result in the policy being insignificant (Ciborra & Navarra, 2005). Similarly, provision of cut-and-dry policies by international organisations to developing countries has been discouraged in earlier work (Amoretti, 2007). This scholar attributes policy failure in developing countries to the influence of external actors. Earlier studies have deemed the NICI framework as a form of external influence in the formulation of national ICT policies in Africa (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula et al., 2016). The fact that most African countries have developed national ICT policies using the NICI framework, a blueprint that external actors promoted for the African continent, should, therefore, be a cause for concern.

Policy makers are encouraged to consider benchmarking policies that have been successful within their own regions or similar countries and customise the policies to address the nation’s

unique situations (Ulrich & Chacko, 2005). These scholars contend that, for ICT policies in developing countries to be effective and beneficial to the needs of society, governments should aim for approaches that are easier to implement to attain cost-effectiveness. However, Ulrich and Chacko (2005, p.195-196) recommend, among others, consideration of some challenges in the development of national ICT policies such as “a need for vision and leadership; consistency with other national development goals; consultation for consensus on objectives and approaches; implementation of articulated and realistic plans of action; resources prioritized and not based on mere wishful thinking”. Accordingly, the scholars observe that lack of consideration of these challenges may result in a policy network developing a policy that is not effective. Benchmarking of policies from other countries or regions has been construed as getting policy ideas from external actors and hence a form of influence of external actors (Chiumbu, 2008). Ghana and Kenya used this approach in developing the countries’ national ICT policies and concluded that the approach yielded positive results in the use of ICTs (Odongo, 2012). Previous work has deemed benchmarking as a form of policy ideas (Chiumbu, 2008; Kunyenje & Chigona, 2017; Odongo, 2012), which may suggest that a number of countries in Africa benefited from policy ideas from external actors.

Furthermore, external actors also influence the national ICT policy-making discourse in African countries through provision of technical support. External actors provided technical support through recruiting external consultants to facilitate the development of national ICT policies in Africa (Chavula & Chekol, 2010). These consultants have mostly formulated the public ICT policies with little or no engagement of local stakeholders (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). As an example, international organisations such as UNECA provided technical support in the development of the public ICT policy in Eswatini (Metfula, 2013). Among other tasks, UNECA verified the correctness of the policy-making process and checked adherence to policy-making standards and best practices; yet these are roles of local actors (Chiumbu, 2008). Likewise, external actors have been noted as taking a leading role in developing most of the ICT policies and programme agendas in Africa rather than giving space to local actors to champion the policy-making agendas within their countries. Similarly, UNESCO spearheaded promotion of national ICT policies in Africa through recruiting experts who rarely involved local stakeholders during the policy process (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). Provision of technical support through recruitment of experts may lead to external actors endorsing or undermining the policy-making process (Etta & Elder, 2005).

This discussion suggests that external actors influence formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries particularly in Africa through providing funding, technical support, policy ideas and promoting a generic framework such as the NICI framework, which have been deemed as forms of influence of external actors in earlier studies as depicted in Figure 1.1 (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula et al., 2016). Traditionally, however, external actors have been partners in the provision of funding and technical support on projects in developing countries (Altenburg, 2010; Chiumbu, 2008).

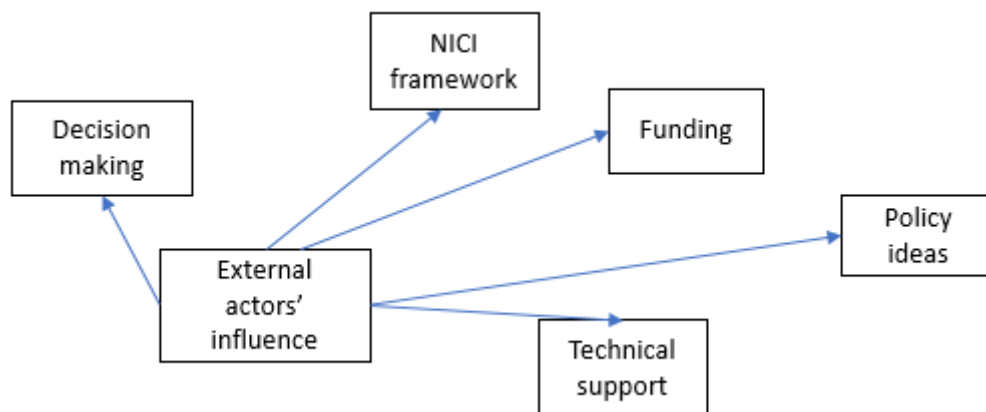


Figure 1.1: Influences of external actors in literature

1.2.4 Role of country context on ICT policy

The context of a country such as economic status and national priorities should be considered in developing public policies to address basic needs of the poor (Kendall et al., 2006). Research has associated failure of some ICT projects with ignoring the context of a country at the time of their design. A study shows that 35% of Information Systems (IS) projects in Africa result in total failure while 50% are partial failures (Heeks, 2003). The study mostly attributes failure of the projects to external actors ignoring country context in the design of the projects. Similarly, scholars suggest that cultural and sustainability issues of a country should be considered prior to deploying ICT projects in developing countries (Thompson & Walsham, 2010). For the success of ICT projects, research has supported consideration of socio-cultural dimensions that are specific to a country (Avgerou, 2008; Kendall et al., 2006). In this study, *country context* refers to economic, cultural, social and political status of a country at the time of formulating a national ICT policy.

Public policy research concerning a country context perspective presents contradictory findings. Previous studies propose that formulation of a national ICT policy should be linked

to the context of a country (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Kendall et al., 2006). These studies claim that for the policies to be comprehensive and effective, there should be a connection between cultural values and the socio-economic status of a country. Supporting the claim, Metfula (2013) observed that policies that are not aligned with the needs of society in a country context may be less successful than those that reflect the realities of the local context. However, other scholars assert that there is no link between policy-making and country context. For example, there are many ethnic and cultural groups within nations, with differing cultural and ethnic beliefs, among others that national culture should consider emerging and dynamic issues of culture (Myers & Tan, 2002). So far there is a scarcity of research that has considered the link between the context of a country and the influence of external actors in the formulation of a public ICT policy. We therefore need more research on the link between country context and the influence of external actors during public ICT policy-making.

In summary, the influence of the external actors from different dimensions can be illustrated as in Figure 1.1.

1.3 Purpose of the research

There is a dearth of studies in Africa that have examined effects of external influences. A study analysing effects of influence of external actors in the development of national ICT policy in developing countries may contribute towards the effectiveness of the public ICT policy by exposing the consequences of the external influence.

Furthermore, calls for more research on public ICT policy in Africa have motivated this study. Scholars advocate for research on ICT policy as a valuable complement to the local implementation studies in Information Systems (Thompson & Walsham, 2010). It is suggested that there should be willingness “to engage with and critique international and national development policies from an ICT perspective, as well as contributing to ICT policy within individual countries” (Thompson & Walsham, 2010, p. 121). In a similar vein, recent research calls on developing countries to shift focus on ICT research agenda to empirical research on digital innovation, theorizing digital innovation and participating in digital innovation (Nielsen, 2017; Suhay, Nielsen, Faujdar, & Mukherjee, 2018). Likewise, poor ICT policy outcomes in Africa have been ascribed to the shortage of capacity in critical research related to public ICT policy (Gillwald, 2010). Research on public ICT policy taking a critical stance may help stakeholders to manage the policy process in future. A critical analysis of how the influence of

external actors affected the formulation of a national ICT policy using Malawi as the case is, therefore, crucial. In summary, these claims are based on previous work which challenges researchers to critically examine national ICT policies in developing countries arguing that currently there are still a few studies in this arena (Kendall et al., 2006). Likewise, Thompson and Walsham (2010) have called on researchers in Information Systems to interrogate international and national development space particularly related to ICT policies, which may contribute to national ICT policies in individual developing countries. These studies suggest a need for more research in ICTs in developing countries.

1.4 Research problem

Despite studies exposing different forms of influence (see Figure 1.1) and roles of external actors in the formulation of public ICT policies in Africa (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Kunyenje & Chigona, 2017; Metfula, 2013; Odongo, 2012) and contradictory findings on context of policy formulation, there is a paucity of research that has analysed the effects of the influences in the formulation of a public ICT policy in the context of developing countries. This thesis argues that understanding the effects of the influence of external actors in the formulation of a public ICT policy may help managers and stakeholders of public policy to devise strategies for managing the interaction between internal and external actors during the policy process. The study was aimed at extending previous research on influence of external actors in the formulation of national ICT policies by analysing the effects of the influences in the context of a developing country. *Effects* in this study refers to intended or unintended consequences of a particular form of influence in the formulation of a national ICT policy.

The key issues of interest in this thesis are reflected in the illustration of the nomological net in Figure 1.2, depicting relationships between policy actors and form of influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy. A nomological net is a description of the relationships and influences of the key components of the phenomenon of interest in a research (Benbasat & Zmud, 2003). In the description, boxes represent core components of the research and arrows show relationships of the components. For a theory to be complete, it must address four building blocks related to ‘what’, ‘how’, ‘why’ and ‘who-where-when’ (Whetten, 1989). The ‘what’ deals with the concepts of interest in a study and in this case, influences and external actors were the focus of the study. The ‘how’ shows relationships between the concepts. These are shown through the arrows in Figure 1.2. The ‘why’ deals with the rationale, the theory’s assumptions that put the relational model together (Whetten, 1989). The ‘who-where-when’

questions constitute the boundary of the research model. This research focus is on the influence of external actors and how those influences affect policy formulation in developing countries.

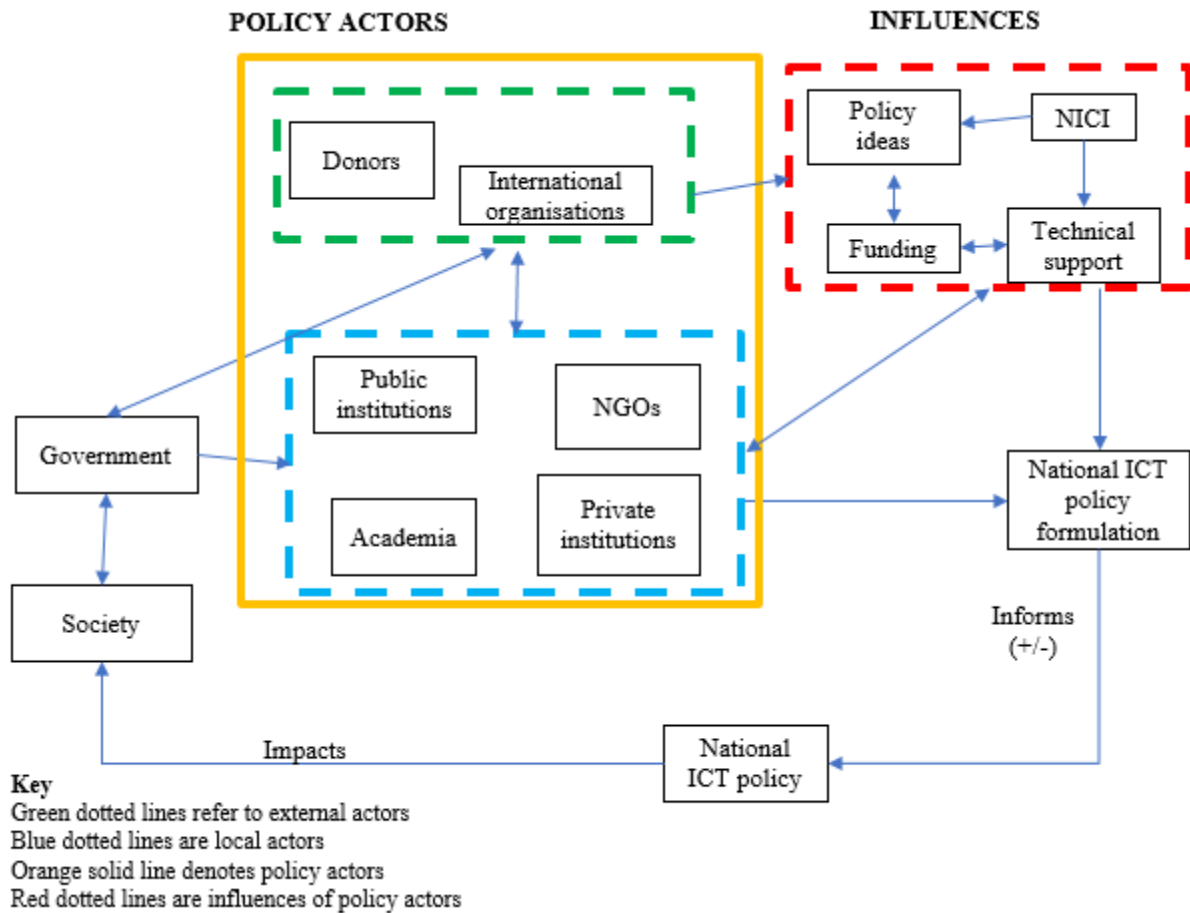


Figure 1.2: Nomological net– Focus of the study

On the one hand, a government decides to address a problem affecting the society through developing a public policy, on the other hand, society expects government to provide solutions to problems (Birkland, 2015). The government then recruits policy actors from public sector, private sector, academia and non-governmental organisations (NGO) to participate in developing the policy (Dye, 2013). In addition, the government may solicit financial and technical support in the formulation of a national ICT policy from external actors (Chiumbu, 2008). The external actors may offer the government financial and technical support (Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula et al., 2016; Odongo, 2012), including policy ideas during policy-making (Chiumbu, 2008; Odongo, 2012). The policy ideas as well as financial and technical support may include approval of the policy itself (Metfula et al., 2016). In addition, local actors may accept funding, technical support, policy ideas and a blueprint from external actors during policy-making. It is also possible that external actors may support formulation of the national ICT policy through funding, policy ideas, technical expertise and promotion of the NICI

framework. Local actors may also approach external actors during policy-making to provide resources such as the NICI framework and funding. The success or failure of the policy development activity informs whether or not a national ICT policy will be formulated, which may have an impact on society.

1.5 Research question

This research identifies public policies as key towards national development. Therefore, considering the importance of public policies, this research uses national ICT policies to interrogate how influences of external actors affect policy formulation. The influence of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in Africa has been a subject of scholarly work in recent years. Forms of influence of external actors such as funding, technical support and provision of policy ideas in the formulation of national ICT policies in Africa have been identified in previous studies (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula et al., 2016). Some studies suggest that policy formulation should consider social, economic, cultural and political dimensions of a country (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Kendall et al., 2006). Poverty, limited infrastructure, electricity breakdowns are some challenges that restrain developing countries especially in Africa from utilising ICTs (Franda, 2002; Rathgeber & Adera, 2000; Udo & Edoho, 2000). Others claim that there is no link between policy-making and the context of a country (Myers & Tan, 2002). However, there is a dearth of studies that show how the influence of external actors during the formulation of a national ICT policy in the context of a country in Africa affects policy outcomes.

This thesis extends past research on the influence of external actors during formulation of a national ICT policy to the effects of the influences in the context of a developing country by investigating the following broad research question:

How does the influence of external actors affect the formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries?

1.6 Research objectives

Specifically, the study explores how country context influences how external actors affect the formulation of a national ICT policy. Table 1.1 outlines the secondary questions of the study and their associated objectives.

Table 1.1: Research Questions and corresponding objectives

Secondary question	Objective
How do external and local actors engage with each other in a developing country during policy formulation?	Investigate how external and local actors engage with each other in a developing country during policy formulation
What categories of the influence of external actors affect national ICT policy formulation in developing countries?	Identify categories of the influence of external actors that affect formulation of a national ICT policy in developing countries
How does the context of a country affect the influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in a developing country?	Evaluate the nexus between country context and the influence of external actors' in the formulation of a national ICT policy

1.7 Research motivation

This study is motivated by the fact that effects of the influence of external actors during public policy formulation which have not been adequately examined and theorised in current studies. External actors mostly influence formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013). However, these studies have not yet adequately investigated the effects of the influences (Kunyenje & Chigona, 2017). Yet previous work appears to show that public policies have the potential to contribute towards social, political and economic dimensions of a country (Avgerou, 2010; Diga, Nwaiwu, & Plantinga, 2013; Thompson & Walsham, 2010). This study, therefore, seeks to extend previous research on external influences by examining how such influences affect national ICT policy formulation in developing countries. The analysis may help stakeholders of public policy in developing countries to devise strategies for managing external actors during the policy process in future.

1.8 Research approach

This is a qualitative case study based on the case of formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi. The study adopted a critical approach, a philosophical perspective that is “concerned with social issues such as freedom, power, social control, and values with respect to the development, use, and impact of information technology” (Myers & Klein, 2011, p. 17). The critical research approach has now been accepted in IS research (Howcroft & Trauth, 2004). Critical research follows three steps of (i) insight, (ii) critique and (iii) transformation (Myers & Klein, 2011). Insight provides an overall understanding of a phenomenon of interest, which is the effects of the influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy. Insight informs critique whose aim is to expose issues of power imbalances. The third step of transformation makes recommendations for improving issues of alienation and domination.

1.8.1 Case study selection

The study used formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi as the case. Malawi was used to gain an in-depth understanding of how the influence of external actors affects formulation of a public ICT policy. The issue was the main object of enquiry rather than the case (Stake, 1995). Malawi was also selected for the study because of some unique aspects. For example, the country generally depends on 40% of foreign aid for budgetary support (Mkamanga, 2018; Wroe, 2012), which may be a contributing factor to pressures exerted by external actors such as the World Bank in the formulation of the country's policies. Malawi's economic status makes it one of those countries in Africa that tend to receive financial support mostly from donors (Birdsall, 2007; Stiglitz, 1999). In addition, the World Bank has described poverty levels in Malawi as being high (World Bank, 2016). The poverty rate at national level in 2016 was in excess of 50% (World Bank, 2018). The country is one of the poorest countries in Africa with a GDP Per Capita of \$ 226 (Africa Facts, 2019). The structural, political, economic and social environment of a country may affect the way policies are formulated (Birkland, 2015). In addition, unemployment rate in the country was 22.6% in 2018 (NSO, 2018); literacy rate in 2017 was 62% (Country Economy, 2018). Only 6% of the country's population of 17.7 million has access to the Internet, which is one of the lowest ICT penetration rates on the continent (World Bank, 2015). Access to satellite Television (TV) is available to only 2.8% of the population (Africanews Space, 2019). With this profile, there is a possibility that donors (or external actors) may have undue influence on the country's policies. A summary of the indicators is in Table 1.2.

Furthermore, the country has moved down from position 159 in 2010 to 163 in 2015 (Research ICT Africa, 2015). This may suggest that the country is retrogressing in implementation and use of ICTs, which are some policy objectives. With this status in the context, donors may influence the country's policies in their favour. The data are summarised in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Malawi Country Data (World Bank, 2015)

Description	Status
Economy	Low income economy; One of the poorest in the World; More than 90% of population lives below \$2/day; High unemployment rate; 40% of annual budget financed by aid (Wroe, 2012); GDP Per Capita (Africa Facts, 2019)
Demographics	17.7 million people; only 6% on Internet; Low literacy levels at 72%; occupies 94,276 km ² of land
National ICT policy	Followed the NICI route; 3 versions: 2003, 2006 & 2009; Policy launched in 2013 (10 strategic goals)
ICT penetration rates	Access to satellite TV of 2.8% (Africanews Space, 2019); Internet access only 6%

In addition, the researcher had easy proximity to data since it was within reach; from the researcher's own people, it is easier to access information in a home country than in another country.

1.8.2 Data collection

Primary data for this research were obtained using semi-structured interviews with policy actors while secondary data were collected from copies of minutes of policy meetings, policy reports and drafts of the policy. For purposes of validation and comparison, formal national ICT policy documents and reports from Botswana, Ghana, Rwanda and South Africa were also collected through the countries' websites (see Table 4.8). These countries were chosen both for similarity and for differences. Similarly, because the researcher wanted to appreciate various ICT policy initiatives within Africa and for the differences because the researcher sought to understand policy initiatives from West, East and Southern Africa. The different countries also used different approaches to policy formulation. Ghana, Malawi and Rwanda used the NICI framework while Botswana and South Africa used the incremental approach to policy-making (Adam & Gillwald, 2007).

1.8.3 Theoretical underpinning of the study

The study used Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (ToP) as a lens. Bourdieu's theory focuses on aspects of domination in social space as a result of unequal allocation of resources (Walther, 2013). The theory analyses how agents dominate or are dominated in social space. Thus, ToP may help us understand how the influence of external actors affects formulation of a national ICT in a developing country. The word *influence* is synonymous with power and control (Dahl, 1957). Thus, Bourdieu's theory was deemed necessary because it focuses on aspects of power imbalances among agents (actors) within society (Bourdieu, 1977). The theory illuminates that one common social space in a field (such as national ICT policy formulation) is the field of power (Grenfell, 2008).

The concepts of field (formulation of a national ICT policy), habitus (behaviours, beliefs and values), capital (economic, social, cultural and symbolic), and practice were used to understand the influences of external actors during the formulation of a national ICT policy and how those influences affected the resulting policy.

Previous studies focusing on ICT policies have mostly used policy network analysis as the theoretical underpinning, which mainly focuses on the relationships between a policy network and policy outcomes (Marsh & Smith , 2000). This study adopts ToP because the researcher is interested in understanding how the influence of external actors affects formulation of a national ICT policy. Influence is a form of domination.

1.9 Significance of the study

The purpose of this study is to explore how the influence of external actors affects formulation of national ICT policies in a developing country context. This research makes contributions to theory, methodology and practice. The theoretical contribution arises from the use of Bourdieu's concepts, which have been widely used in other disciplines such as health and education, but not yet in the domain of public ICT policy formulation. The study also adds to the body of knowledge on national ICT policy formulation. Further, the research makes a contribution to methodology as it demonstrates how a critical approach linked to Bourdieu's Theory of Practice may be used in the domain of national ICT policy formulation. The practical contribution arises from the applications of the findings from the study in similar country contexts. The findings from the study may help stakeholders of public policy in devising ways to manage external actors in subsequent policy-making endeavours.

To summarise, the significance of the study is expected in the following ways:

i. *To researchers:*

- (a) The study adds knowledge in the discipline of public ICT policy formulation. The research draws on Bourdieu's theory, critical approach and empirical situation to provide insights into theoretical explanations on influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in the context of a developing country;
- (b) Further, this study extends usage of the framework to analyse the effects of influence of external actors on national ICT policy in a developing country context;
- (c) The study extends usage of the concepts of field, capital and practice to analyse effect of policy in a country context;
- (d) The study also extends use key concepts from critical social theories to analyse influences of external actors during policy formulation;

- ii. *To governments and other developing countries (including Malawi):* It provides insights into how the influence of external actors affects formulation of a public policy; and
- iii. *To society and specifically to policy makers and practitioners including government:* It provides recommendations on how issues of domination through the influence of external actors may be addressed. This contribution deals with the element of transformation in research adopting a critical approach.

1.10 Structure of Thesis

This thesis has eight chapters, which are structured as follows:

Chapter One has provided the background to the study, explained the purpose of the research, introduced the study problem and outlined the research question and research objectives of the study. In addition, the chapter has stated the research approach and provided the significance of the study.

Chapter Two presents a review of the literature associated with the research question. The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part presents a general overview of public policy and the different policy models. The second part focuses on ICT policy-making in Africa, influences of external actors in the formulation of public ICT policies in developing countries and factors affecting national ICT policy formulation. The chapter also presents literature on country context and identifies gaps in the literature related to the research question.

Chapter Three describes the theoretical framework that was used as a lens in this research and provides a summary of studies that have adopted the framework. In addition, the chapter operationalises the research question and locates limitations of the framework.

Chapter Four describes the methodology that the study utilised. Specifically, the chapter considers the research philosophy underpinning the study, the research approach and methods that were adopted in the study. The chapter also describes the research design that informed the study, presents a brief summary of how reliability and validity were addressed in the research and concludes with a summary of the limitations of the methodology.

Chapter Five introduces the case that was used for the research in relation to the context of the country, demographics that were critical to the research question, the country's economic

status, and the policy activities of interest in the study. The chapter also provides a section on how other public policies are developed in the country. The reason for including the other public policies in the study was to compare the policy processes that were followed in the formulation of the other public policies in relation to the national ICT policy formulation process.

Chapter Six presents the findings of the study. The chapter presents findings from each of the three different policy drafts as separate policy arenas, compares differences and similarities between the findings of the various draft policies and identifies influences of the policy actors in the empirical situation.

Chapter Seven discusses the findings of the research based on the research objectives in Table 1.1. These objectives relate to categories of the influences, how local and external actors engaged with each other in the formulation of the national ICT policy, the link between the empirical situation and the influence of external actors in the context of national ICT policy formulation. The chapter also discusses a comparison between the policy process and context in the main case study and the policy processes in four other countries in Africa.

Chapter Eight is the concluding chapter. The chapter provides an overview of the study on the influences of external actors during policy development, explains how the research contributes to theory, methodology and practice and briefly discusses recommendations from the study. The chapter also highlights limitations of the study and potential for future research. Finally, the chapter concludes with personal reflections during the study.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter extends the justification for investigating the study problem stated in the previous chapter. It builds on the background that has been provided in the previous chapter on the influence of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in the context of developing countries. A national ICT policy has been described as a set of goals, objectives and strategies that are intended to direct and control implementation of ICTs in a country (Odongo, 2012), implying that a national ICT policy falls within the domain of public policy.

A review of the literature on influences of external actors during the policy process was undertaken using the systematic literature review (SLR) approach in Figure 2.1 proposed by Boell and Cecez-Kecmanovic (2015). The search terms that were used to access the articles include: *policy formulation*, *actors in policy-making*, *national ICT policy*, *factors influencing policy-making* and *influences of external actors on ICT policy*, in developing countries. The primary data sources for the review included: peer-reviewed journals, conference proceedings, student theses, books and industry reports. The articles were selected on the basis of being within the scope of the study, which is on influences of external actors on national ICT policy formulation. Secondary sources were accessed through some references in key articles. The purpose of the review was to identify different categories of influence of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in developing countries and how these influences affect the resulting policy. This does not mean that the review of the literature on national ICT policy formulation in developing countries is exhaustive, but it is a broadly representative sample of extant literature in the area based on the fact that most developing countries, particularly in Africa, started formulating national ICT policies around the 2000s (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005).

The review has organised the literature in six thematic areas of: (i) public policy formulation; (ii) actors in policy-making; (iii) national ICT policy studies in developing countries; (iv) ICT policy-making in Africa; (v) factors influencing policy formulation; and (vi) influences of external actors on public policy. These thematic areas were chosen on the basis that the review revealed influences of external actors in those areas. The reviewed articles are listed in Appendix 1.

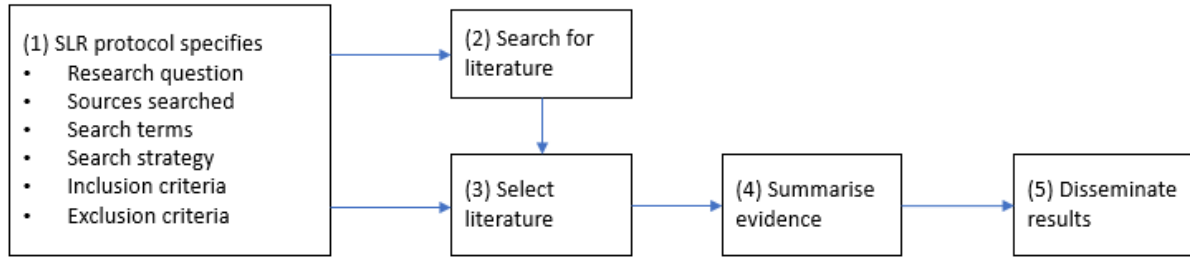


Figure 2.1: Literature review process (Boell & Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2015)

Using electronic databases, the initial search of articles between 2000 and 2016 yielded 203 papers. This range was chosen because most developing countries, particularly in Africa, have been formulating national ICT policies in the 2000s (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). In addition, the year 2000 was chosen as a starting point for the search because literature shows that the ITU, an external actor, held the first African Regional Telecommunication Development Conference in 2000, which culminated into the African Green Paper on Telecommunication Policies (Chiumbu, 2008). After titles and abstracts of the articles were assessed, 56 papers were chosen. These were read in full. Out of the 56 papers, 35 did not satisfy the inclusion criteria, leaving 21 studies for inclusion in the review. The purpose of the review was to identify influence of external actors during formulation of a national ICT policy in developing countries and how these influences affect policy objectives in a given country context.

Table 2.1: Summary of articles reviewed

Focus	Author	Number of articles
National ICT policy	Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Hafkin, 2002; Makoza & Chigona, 2013b; Metfula, 2013; Miller, 2002; Odongo, 2012; Olatokun, 2008; Yusuf, 2005	8
Influences on public policy	Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Folke, Hahn, Olsson, & Norberg, 2005; Metfula, 2013	4
Policy-making in developing countries	Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013; Kalu, 2004; Brown & Brown, 2008	5
Actors in policy-making	Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Diga, Nwaiwu, & Plantinga, 2013; Dobrowa, Goel, & Upshur, 2004; Etta & Elder, 2005; Gillwald, 2010; Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009; Metfula, 2013	8
Country context	Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Adler & Kwon, 2002; Kendall, Kendall, & Kah, 2006; Myers & Tan, 2002; Njihia & Merali, 2013	5

The review identified different categories of influence of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in developing countries as in Table 2.1. The papers *included* in the review were guided by the search terms in different Journals such as in *sociology*, *public policy* and *IS*, among others. Disciplines, other than, IS were used because public policy is a multidisciplinary

arena (Smith & Larimer, 2009). Furthermore, the highly referenced books on public policy such as Birkland (2015), Dye (2013) and Moran et al. (2006), were also used. The *exclusion criteria* were based on articles whose narratives were too broad or informal. Details of papers on national ICT policy formulation, which is the focus of this study, are in Appendix 2.

This chapter is organised as follows: first public policy and its associated organisational concepts are explored. The study on the effects of the influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy interrogates processes of public policy and therefore it is imperative for the chapter to review processes of the public policy prior to a review of the external influences. In this case, the first part of the chapter reviews public policy and a number of public policy models in relation to strengths and weaknesses to put the study into context. The second part of the chapter reviews studies related to ICT policy formulation in Africa as well as some insights into a national ICT policy are highlighted. The review extends to actors in public policy-making, factors that influence the formulation of policy in general, influences on policy and how influences of international actors affect foreign policy. Finally, a description of how country context affects policy, a theoretical foundation of the determinants and consequences of influence of external actors including the gaps from the literature are presented in the later stages of the chapter.

2.2 Public policy

Many studies have defined public policy in different ways. For example, Birkland (2015) defined public policy as a government statement of its intentions to address a public problem. Dye (2013) defined public policy as a statement of goals, values and practices that are intended to solve a public problem. Public policy has also been defined as a “relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern” (Anderson, 2003, p.2). The definitions of public policy in this section together with those in Table 2.2 appear to suggest that a public policy is a national statement that is intended to address a public problem in a context.

While some scholars define *public policy*, others argue that the term does not have a common definition and suggest that every discipline can apply its own definition resulting in public policy being construed as involving different fields (Smith & Larimer, 2009). The study of public policy is about identifying solutions to problems in society that require government intervention (Smith & Larimer, 2009). These societal solutions may arise from problems in

different fields of specialisation or domains such as agriculture, health, education and ICT (Birkland, 2015). A *policy domain* is defined as “the substantive area of policy over which participants in policy-making compete and compromise, such as the environmental policy domain or the health care policy domain” (Birkland, 2015, p.155). This definition seems to suggest that a policy domain may be in the area of health, agriculture or even ICT.

Table 2.2: Definitions of public policy

Author	Definition
Anderson, 2003, p.2	A relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern.
<u>Knoepfel</u> , <u>Larrue</u> , <u>Varone</u> , & Hill, 2007, p.113	A set of decisions and activities resulting from the <i>interaction</i> between <i>public</i> and <i>private</i> actors, whose <i>behaviour</i> is influenced by the <i>resources</i> at their disposal, the <i>general institutional rules</i> (that is, the rules concerning the overall functioning of the political system) and <i>specific institutional rules</i> (that is, the rules specific to the area of intervention under scrutiny)
Birkland, 2015, p. 9	A statement by government—at whatever level—of what it intends to do about a public problem
Dye, 2013, p.3	Whatever governments choose to do or not to do
<u>Heclo</u> , 1972, p. 85	May usefully be considered as a course of action or inaction rather than specific decisions or actions
Smith B. C., 1976, p. 13	Attention should not focus exclusively on decisions which produce change, but must also be sensitive to those which resist change and are difficult to observe because they are not represented in the policy-making process by legislative enactment

The definitions in Table 2.2 also suggest that public policy is a decision based on perspectives of different actors, a notion supported in literature that public policy is a set of decisions from different actors (Hill, 2005). Furthermore, policies are bound to change over time due to regular changes in societal problems (Hill, 2005).

This study subscribes to the description of policy as texts, practices and symbols explicated by Schneider and Ingram (1997). The study will be based on a developing country context, which may have its own *practices*, *symbols* and *discourses* including social, economic contexts in delivering value to the public. Policies within a society can be at macro-level, for example national policies, and at micro-level such as organisational, district or departmental policies (Johnson, 2013). Public policies at national level serve the citizens of a country through public

institutions (Dye, 2013). The national ICT policy is one such macro-level public policy that is intended to serve the interests of the citizens of a country.

Whether the term public policy can be defined or not, it is government's responsibility to ensure that problems being faced by citizens in a country are addressed through a public policy (Birkland, 2015; Dye, 2013; Smith & Larimer, 2009). Public policies are formulated from decisions that are made by different stakeholders such as public and private actors in the process of addressing the societal problems (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009). Consequently, the role of policy actors is crucial in policy formulation.

The public policy discipline grew out of the policy sciences approach, which originated from Lasswell's writings between the 1940s and 1950s and focused primarily on the "rigorous application of the sciences to issues affecting governance and government" (Moran et al., 2006, p. 39). Literature suggests that Lasswell "wanted to create an applied social science that would act as a mediator between academics, government decision-makers, and ordinary citizens by providing objective solutions to problems that would narrow or minimise the need for unproductive political debate on the pressing policy issues of the day" (Fischer, 2003, p.3). Later, other fields such as political science, public administration, law, history, sociology, psychology, public health and anthropology were directly extended into the public policy arena (Moran et al., 2006). This perspective entails that there is not just a field of public policy studies, but that there are fields of public policy studies (Smith & Larimer, 2009). As such, the perspective supports the definition which states that the field of policy studies is "any research that relates to or promotes the public interest" (Palumbo, 1981, p.8). However, other scholars of the policy sciences approach have suggested that the other disciplines are different from the policy sciences in that the latter is: problem-oriented, multidisciplinary and value-oriented (Moran et al., 2006) as in Table 2.3. This study takes the multidisciplinary view in which public policy cuts across different disciplines whose intent is to contribute to addressing societal problems by government (Smith & Larimer, 2009). The study adopts the definition of public policy in Table 2.2 by Knoepfel et al. (2007) in exploring the effects of influence of external actors on national ICT policy in a developing country context.

Table 2.3: Uniqueness of Policy Sciences over other disciplines (Smith & Larimer, 2009)

Characteristics	Elaborations
Problem-oriented	The focus is on the problem faced by government rather than the policy making stages
Multidisciplinary	The claim that almost all societal problems whether social or political have multiple components that are linked to the other academic disciplines without falling into any specific disciplines' domains
Value-oriented	The policy sciences' approach recognizes that all social problems or methodological approaches have value. Thus, to understand a problem, one must acknowledge its value components. Similarly, all policy scientists have their own values, which also must be recognized, if not resolved.

In summary, the different definitions and descriptions entail that public policy is:

- i. made for the interest of the public in addressing a problem in society;
- ii. goal-oriented towards solving a problem;
- iii. the responsibility of government even in situations where ideas come from other actors;
- iv. jointly developed and implemented by actors from the public and private sector.

Public policies are mostly categorised as distributive, regulative, redistributive and organisational policies (Cloete, Wissink, & De Coning, 2006; Howlett et al., 2009; Knoepfel et al., 2007). A distributive policy is used to distribute rewards and any form of material services to society while a regulative policy is common in regulating any form of conflict such as economic, societal or political issues within a society. A policy is extractive in situations where the intention is to extract money such as taxes from society. Organisational policies are meant to organise a society against another society.

Additionally, a public policy is classified as distributive if it distributes costs broadly, with controllable benefits; and regulative in situations where coercion is directed at specific individuals (Smith & Larimer, 2009). Most policies do not fit within a single category. There are suggestions that a public policy such as a national ICT policy may also cut across all the four categories of policies (Cloete et al., 2006; Dye, 2013; Howlett et al., 2009). This study supports the argument that a national ICT policy cuts across all the four categories of public policy because it may be used to distribute rewards to society; may be used to regulate societal

issues; and may be applied on monetary issues within society but may also apply in organising one society against another.

2.3 Theories of the public policy

Previous studies have documented different public policy approaches (Birkland, 2015; Dye, 2012; Smith & Larimer, 2009), which include institutionalism, systems theory, pluralism, elitism, rationalism, incrementalism and process models. These approaches or models are generally used to explain power inequalities in society (Hill, 2005). Each of these approaches is briefly outlined in the sub-sections that follow.

2.3.1 *Stages model*

The model in Figure 2.2 suggests that public problems in society emerge through various means, which may include “sudden events such as disasters or through the advocacy activities of concerned citizens and interest groups” (Birkland, 2015, p.25). Then the problem becomes an agenda for which a number of possible solutions to the public problem are identified. In the third stage, a choice is made from the alternatives of the potential solution that will address the problem. The next stage is policy legislation. This stage ensures that a “law is passed, a regulation is issued, or some other formal decision is reached to take a particular action to solve a problem” (Birkland, 2015, p. 26). Beyond the enactment is implementation of the policy followed by the evaluation stage during which the policy is appraised and the results of the evaluation loop back to the process, where the process starts again.

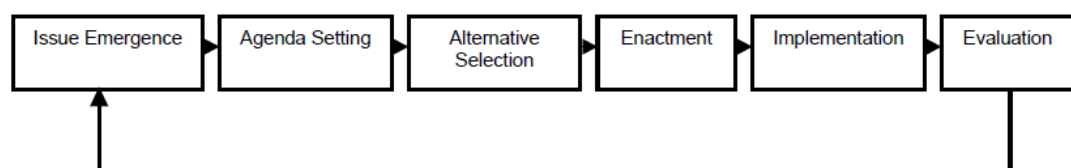


Figure 2.2: The Stages of the Process Model (Birkland, 2015)

The Stages or Textbook model has been criticised in recent years for its sequential approach to policy-making, which only iterates at the end. For example, Birkland (2015) argues that a policy idea may reach the agenda stage and be lost in the subsequent stages of the policy process. The scholar argues that “one cannot separate the implementation of a policy from its evaluation, because evaluation happens continuously as a policy is implemented” and suggests that the Stages model “does not constitute a workable theory of how the policy process works” (Birkland, 2015, p.26). Others argue that the Stages approach “ignores institutions and critical

individual actors such as policy specialists and advocacy groups, as well as systemic characteristics such as political feasibility, all of which can affect the policy process in varying ways. Everything is assumed to be static in the Stages model” (Smith & Larimer, 2009, p. 47).

2.3.2 *Institutionalism*

This model, also known as the traditional approach, focuses on the “structures, organization, duties and functions of public institutions” (Hahn, 2008, p.222). Government institutions have the authority to determine, implement and enforce public policy (Dye, 2013). Institutions are usually defined as “formal or informal rules, regulations, norms, and understandings that constrain and enable behaviour” (Morgan, Campbell, Crouch, Pedersen, & Whitley, 2010, p.2). In this model, policies are sometimes described, but never analysed (Hahn, 2008). “The distribution of power and interaction among and between actors, either through the representation and organisation of different sector-based or category-based interests, or through the organisations and institutional rules that frame these interactions” is stressed in the model (Knoepfel et al., 2007, pp.222-3).

2.3.3 *Systems Theory*

Another approach to the policy process is based on an input-output model as in Figure 2.3. In this model, the inputs become the various issues, pressures, information which the actors consider in compiling outputs in a form of public policy decisions (Birkland, 2015; Hahn, 2008). This approach places emphasis on the environment of political systems, input and output and feedback (Hahn, 2008). Proponents of the systems model argue that the public policy process can be considered as the result of a system that is “influenced by and influences the environment” in which the policy operates (Birkland, 2015, p.27). Table 2.4 shows the four environments that influence policy-making, which are: “the structural environment, the social environment, the economic environment, and the political environment” (Birkland, 2015, p.28).

Table 2.4: Policy-making environments (Birkland, 2015, pp.28 - 42)

Environment	Purpose
Structural	involves rules that dictate how government goes about its business
Social	involves the nature and composition of the population and its social structure such as age, race and gender
Economic	includes the growth of the economy, the distribution of wealth in a society, the size and composition of industry sectors, the rate of growth of the economy, inflation, and the cost of labor and raw materials
Political	It involves the assessment of political and policy options by considering public opinion polling data

The model may help policy actors to understand the link between external actors (as external environments) and their influences on the policy process.

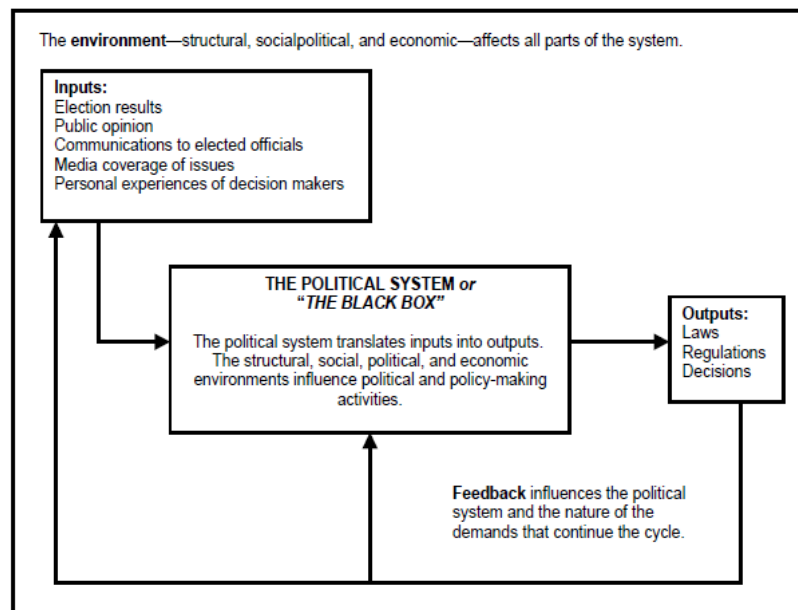


Figure 2.3: A Systems Model of Politics and Policy (Birkland, 2015)

This model is criticised on the basis that the central process (also called the black box) is treated as a system in which all the internal workings take place, but yet the workings remain unexplained (Birkland, 2015). Furthermore, literature suggests that this approach ignores the behavioral and political dimensions associated with most policy processes (Thissen & Walker, 2013). The Stages model was therefore developed as a way of addressing the internal workings of the black box concept (Birkland, 2015).

2.3.4 Policy Process

It is argued that the policy process concerns the study of the use of power during policy formulation and that issues about the “sources and nature of that power” are essential (Hill, 2005, p.26). Furthermore, literature suggests that social, institutional, political and economic contexts shape policy and this is achieved through a policy-making process in which different groups, institutions, and structures work together to solve problems (Birkland, 2015). The term *policy process* has been used to describe a type of system that realises policy ideas into actual policy documents, which can be implemented and have positive effects (Birkland, 2015). The policy process is presented as a model or a set of stages (Birkland, 2015; Moran et al., 2006). Policy processes have also been understood in the past as metaphors through the usage of terms such as stages or cycles and streams (Howlett, McConnell, & Perl, 2015).

Over time, different policy-making models have been developed. The proponents of the stages model considered policy processes as a sequential or linear progression (Lasswell, 1956; Brewer, 1974). Others argued that policy-making is ongoing and recurring, consisting of interactive and iterative policy processes and noting that in the real world there are different actors with different ideologies and complexities (Wildavsky, 1987; Howlett et al., 2009; Sabatier, 1991). In reality, the policy process consists of iterative process (Lubua & Maharaj, 2012).

2.3.5 Pluralism

The pluralist approach considers government as a hub for service provision whose primary duty is to respond to social demands from the citizenry and that the analysis of public policy in the model is “based on the optimisation of collective choices, the rationality of the decision-making processes and the behaviour of ‘bureaucrats’” (Knoepfel et al., 2007, p.4). Group theory, as a form of pluralism, is used to explain the behaviour of actors at national level and the interpretation of the influence of groups during the policy-making stage (Hahn, 2008). The author further notes that there is less emphasis on groups at the local level “but influential individuals are perceived as diverse, conflicting and different from one issue to another. Conflict and competition have prominent roles in this model” (Hahn, 2008, p.222). This approach may be useful in explaining the diversity of interests of policy actors and issues of conflict including their resolution particularly during the formulation of national ICT policies, which is a field that cuts across a number of disciplines such as agriculture, education, health and many others.

2.3.6 *Elitism*

This model assumes that a small and elite group of people in society has the responsibility to make policy and, in this instance, public policies are a consequence of the preferences and values of the small group usually the ruling elite in a sitting government. Typically, the elite groups take advantage of a state (or government) dominated by citizens that are inactive, unconcerned and ill-informed, a situation which results in the elites being allowed to shape the opinion of the masses and not the other way round (Fox, Bayat, & Ferreira, 2006). Although literature suggests that public policies ordinarily reflect the demands of the poor in society, this model clearly shows that changes to public policy emanate from the preferences and values of the elites (Dye, 2013). This approach holds that the elites act in the interests of other groups (Hahn, 2008). In this model, decisions are made by the few who are very influential in society. The elite approach may be used to explain inequalities among policy actors.

2.3.7 *Rationalism*

The policy model, proposed by Lasswell (as cited in Lodge, 2007), is a sequential process and consists of seven stages namely: “intelligence, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination, and appraisal” (Jann & Wegrich, 2007, p.43). The sequential process describes policy-making as a “rational, balanced, objective and analytical problem solving process”, which consists of a series of sequential phases as (Sutton, 1999, p.9):

- i. “Problem recognition and definition”;
- ii. “Determination of options for addressing the problem”;
- iii. “Assessment of advantages and disadvantages of each of the options”;
- iv. “Selection of the best option addressing the problem”;
- v. “Implementation of the policy”;
- vi. “Evaluation of policy outcomes”.

In selecting a rational policy, policy actors are expected to consider a number of characteristics, which are (Dye, 2013, p.19):

- i. “Knowledge of preferences of society”;
- ii. “Knowledge of availability of policy alternatives”;
- iii. “Knowledge of the consequences of the policy alternatives”;
- iv. “Knowledge of the benefits for each of the policy alternatives”;
- v. “Selection of the best policy alternative”.

The major challenge with this approach is in its assumption that policy makers rationally tackle problems requiring policy by progressing logically from one phase to the next and that failure of the policy to achieve its objectives is associated with the failure of managers or the political system in implementing the policy (Dye, 2013; Juma & Clark, 1995). The model has been criticised for treating decision making as an intellectual process that is rational rather than being political (Hahn, 2008). Past work on rationalism has noted the limitations of human intellect and applicability of the approach. For example, Lindblom (1980) observed that while rationalism may be easy to apply with a simple problem, it is impractical for policy actors to solve complex problems using this approach because it requires that costs and benefits of all possible alternatives be identified. The scholar argues that this is beyond human intellect. The model assumes that policy actors completely agree on goals, have knowledge of alternative policies, and they can “calculate and select the policies with the greatest benefits and least costs” (Dye, 2013, p.20).

2.3.8 Incrementalism

In this model, policy makers consider various options that may be relevant for addressing a problem then choose options with marginal differences from an existing policy (Hahn, 2008). Literature proposes that a good policy is the one in which all the policy actors agree with the policy rather than what is best to solve a problem (Sutton, 1999). Incremental policy-making focuses on small changes (increments) in addressing problems instead of addressing major issues. The model has been criticised that the small increments of processes are often fragmented and usually do not address particular problems (Lindblom, 1980).

Past work suggests that the incremental approach was developed as a reaction to rationalism and was a prescriptive model, which clearly described reality (Hahn, 2008). For instance, the model states that “policy actors are more likely to move away from problems than toward goals; only a limited number of alternatives are considered (specifically, ones that differ only marginally from the status quo); only direct, short-range consequences are considered for each alternative; only enough analysis is done to find a solution that policy makers can agree on; and adjustments are continually made if solutions remain unacceptable” (Hahn, 2008).

Table 2.5: Summary of policy models

Model	Author
Problem identification and agenda format, formulation, adoption, implementation, evaluation	Anderson, 2003
Invention/initiation, estimation, selection, implementation, evaluation, termination	Brewer, 1974
Agenda setting, formulation, adoption, implementation, assessment	Dunn, 1994
Initiation, agenda setting, processing the issue, considering option, making choice, publication, allocation of resources, implementation, adjudication, impact evaluation, feedback	Fox, Schwella, & Wissink, 1991
Intelligence-gathering, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination, appraisal	Lasswell, 1956
Verify, define and detail the problem, establish evaluating criteria, identify alternative policies, evaluate alternative policies, display and select among alternative policies, monitor policy outcomes	Patton & Sawicki, 1986
Problem identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy legitimation, policy implementation, policy evaluation	Dye, 2013

Table 2.5 presents a summary of the different policy process approaches.

2.4 Process Model

Policy models or approaches are, in theory, presented as a sequence of steps. However, literature suggests that in practice there is constant feedback between the different stages (See Figure 2.4) of the policy process by Brooks (as cited in Makoza & Chigona, 2013b).

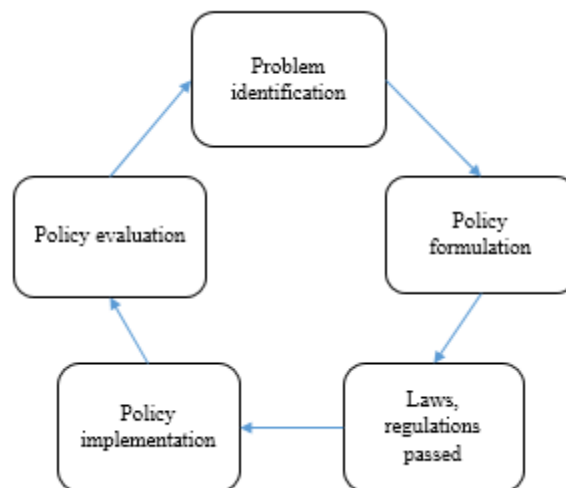


Figure 2.4: Policy process (Makoza & Chigona, 2013b)

As pointed out above, policy is shaped by different contexts such as social, institutional, political and economic contexts and this is achieved through a policy-making process in which different groups, institutions, and structures work together to solve problems (Birkland, 2015). However, policy formulation in developing countries especially in Africa has largely been dominated by external actors. For example, the Eswatini national ICT policy was dominated by external actors such as UNECA and the Finnish government or events such as the 2005 World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) conference. The term *policy process* has been used to describe a type of system that realises policy ideas into actual policy documents that can be implemented and have positive effects (Birkland, 2015). The policy process is presented as a model or a set of stages (Birkland, 2015; Moran et al., 2006). Metaphors such as stages or cycles and streams have been used over the years to understand policy processes (Howlett et al, 2015).

Over time, different policy-making models have been developed. The proponents of the stages model considered policy processes as a sequential or linear progression (Lasswell, 1956; Brewer, 1974). Others argue that policy-making is ongoing and recurring, consisting of interactive and iterative policy processes and noting that in the real world there are different actors with different ideologies and complexities (Wildavsky, 1987; Howlett et al., 2009; Sabatier, 1991). Table 2.6 presents a summary of the different policy process models.

Table 2.6: Stages of the Policy Process (Dye, 2013, p.34)

Stage	Description
Problem Identification	The identification of policy problems through demand from individuals and groups for government action
Agenda Setting	Focusing the attention of the mass media and public officials on specific public problems to decide what will be decided
Policy Formulation	The development of policy proposals by different actors including interest groups
Policy Legitimation	The selection and enactment of policies through actions by government
Policy Implementation	The implementation of policies through government bureaucracies, public expenditures, regulations, and other activities of executive agencies
Policy Evaluation	The evaluation of policies by government agencies themselves, outside consultants, the media, and the general public.

The process model is an attempt to generalise policy issues as a series of steps (Hahn, 2008). The primary focus of the model is not on the participants and the policy outcomes but rather on what happens, when and how (Hahn, 2008). The different stages within the process model are a useful guide in answering questions on where to start and what the next step entails during policy analysis. A policy outcome is defined as “the substantive results of the implementation of a policy. Outcomes can be intended or unintended, positive or negative. This differs from outputs, which are laws, regulations, rules, and the like; or the effort that government expends to address problems. For example, more teaching hours provided by a school district is an output; the outcome would be, one hopes, an improvement in students’ educational achievement” Birkland (2015, p.229). Policy outcomes, after all, are about consequences differentially felt and are perhaps best understood as the positive and negative impacts on those claiming to have a derivative stake in the agency’s allocational processes. This study defines a policy outcome as intended or unintended consequence, or resulting in a positive or negative impact.

Most policy studies categorise activities of the ideal policy process into: problem identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy legitimisation, policy implementation and policy evaluation (Birkland, 2015; Dye, 2013; Thissen & Walker, 2013). Table 2.6 is an outline of the stages of this policy process. Although policy-making is generally presented as a series of processes, in reality these activities do not take place in sequence (Lubua & Maharaj, 2012) and thus different actors may be engaged in different processes at the same time, even in the same policy area (Dye, 2013).

Public problems in society emerge through various means, which may include unexpected events or concerns of different interest groups (Birkland, 2015). Next the problem becomes an agenda for which a number of possible solutions to the public problem are identified. In the third stage, a choice is made of the potential solution that will address the problem. Next a policy or policies are legislated. This stage ensures that a “law is passed, a regulation is issued, or some other formal decision is reached to take a particular action to solve a problem” (Birkland, 2015, p. 26). Beyond the enactment, implementation of the policy follows, and finally the policy is evaluated and the results of the evaluation loop back to the process, where the process starts again.

This research uses the process model in exploring the effects of influences of external actors on a national ICT policy. The study will adopt Dye’s (2013) policy model in Table 2.6 to

analyse the effects of influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in a context of a developing country.

The stages of the policy model are summarised in the sub-sections below:

2.4.1 Problem identification and agenda setting

Some scholars consider problem identification, agenda setting and policy formulation of the policy process as three separate stages (Howlett & Ramesh, 2002) while others define problem definition and agenda setting as two separate stages (Anderson, 2003; Dye, 2013). The process model proposed by Dunn (1994) considers agenda setting as encompassing problem definition. Literature suggests that these scholars generally isolate policy formulation as a stage or phase on its own. However, in practice there is a thin line between these stages (Fischer, Miller, & Sidney, 2007). Different activities take place during these two stages, such as actors defining their own interests, persuading others to support their cause, gaining access to government officials and influencing decision making (Birkland, 2015). For example, external actors such as UNECA and the Finnish government largely dominated the formulation of the national ICT policy in Eswatini through their own interests (Metfula, 2013). The study further shows that gaining access to some policy actors within the network including government officials was one of the strategies the actors used to dominate the process. Events and values may also affect agenda setting in policy-making. Kingdon (as cited in Considine et al. (2009, p.11)), for example, described “a model of policy-making in which events and values set an agenda or established a political appetite. Then the various players promoted alternatives (options)”, which were the basis for the policy choice. Similarly, Metfula (2013) revealed that formulation of the national ICT policy for Eswatini was hastened to make sure that the policy was ready before the WSIS 2005 conference (an event). Dye (2013) argues that the crucial issue during policy-making is the *power* to decide the problems that are more important rather than deciding what will be the solutions. Clearly, the fast tracking of the Eswatini policy may not have been intended to address the problem but rather to meet certain targets such as the WSIS conference and apparently this decision was the effort of the external actors rather than the local policy actors.

Agenda setting is characterised by tactics such as creating an issue and putting pressure on government to do something about the issue (Dye, 2013). This seems to suggest that through agenda setting, actors may impose unwanted issues to be taken to the policy-making stage.

Research has shown that governments are sometimes put under pressure to set an agenda during the policy process. For example, African governments were put under pressure to formulate national ICT policies through the adoption of the NICI framework (Chiumbu, 2008). Similarly, the Eswatini government was under pressure to develop a national ICT policy by UNECA and the Finnish government actors (Metfula, 2013). Another example is the WSIS conference in 2005, which may be seen as a force influencing African governments to formulate national ICT policies based on ideologies from external actors. These tactics are often employed by influential actors, organized interest groups, among others (Dye, 2013), a practice which may result in unwanted outcomes being adopted in the agenda.

Past work shows that policy formulation is the effort of several actors both public and private. For example, Birkland (2015) has argued that no single actor can develop a policy whether public or private. This means that no single actor has all the expertise to solve complex problems such as interdependence among policy actors in a policy-making activity. Hence actors have to rely on each other (Héritier, 2002). Birkland (2015) submits that agenda setting is a good starting point for understanding the interaction of groups, power, and the agenda for the policy debate. This is why formulation of the national ICT policy in Eswatini involved local actors from both the public and private sectors in addition to external actors such as UNECA. However, the development of the NICI framework was mostly the result of external actors (Chiumbu, 2008).

Agenda setting has also been classified as taking bottom-up and top-down approaches. The bottom-up approach assumes that a societal problem is identified by individuals or groups who state their goals, strategies, activities, contacts and other factors (Cloete & Wissink, 2000) and is subsequently presented for public attention (Dye, 2013). But a top-down approach starts with a policy decision from government officials (Sabatier, 1986). This approach reduces the power of external actors and instead recognises the actors who initiated the policy idea as key actors (Cloete & Wissink, 2000). The formulation of the Eswatini national ICT policy seems to have adopted the top-down approach in which government took the lead. Metfula (2013) observes that the Eswatini Government recruited local actors from the public sector as well as the private sector. In this case, the government which came up with the decision, was the key actor (Cloete & Wissink, 2000; Sabatier, 1991).

2.4.2 Policy formulation

Policy formulation entails the development of policy options intended to deal with problems defined during the agenda setting stage (Dye, 2013). In this stage, policy actors work together within a policy network (Moran et al., 2006) with a view to finding solutions to a problem rather than defining it (Zittoun, 2014). It is postulated that interest groups may play a vital role in influencing the policy formulation through approaches such as: direct lobbying, campaign contributions, interpersonal contacts, and grassroots mobilization efforts (Dye, 2013).

Howlett et al. (2009) describe the policy formulation stage as consisting of four stages: appraisal, dialogue, formulation and consolidation. According to the scholars, the appraisal phase entails collecting data and evidence including generation of possible solutions. The dialogue phase deals with the engagement of all policy actors and stakeholders and is a platform through which different perspectives on the issue and solutions are identified. During the formulation phase, actors primarily consider alternatives to the policy and draft a proposed policy for possible approval by the stakeholders and finally the consolidation phase is a phase in which stakeholders solicit feedback on the draft proposed policy. The study will use policy formulation to mean agenda setting and policy formulation as one activity.

2.4.3 Policy legitimization

The policy legitimization stage enables the regulation and enforcement of laws by the affected institutions and organisations from the formulated public policy. Birkland (2015) describes this stage as the starting point for effecting a piece of legislation or regulation. Four activities encompass policy legitimization, which are: “selecting a proposal, developing political support for it, enacting it into law and deciding on its constitutionality” (Dye, 2013, p. 34). Against each activity, the author places different players such as interest groups, the head of state, cabinet and the courts respectively. The term enactment is used in literature to mean policy legislation. For example, Birkland (2015, p.26) uses enactment to mean “a law that is passed, a regulation that is issued, or some other formal decision that is reached “to take a particular action to solve a problem”. Policy legitimization is critical in public policy both at macro and micro levels of policy (Jagers, Matti, & Nordblom, 2016). The word has been used to mean political support. Legitimacy has been used in the social and political sciences although it has not been linked to the "support or compliance on the specific policy level" (Jagers et al., 2016, p.4). Legitimation in policy studies has also been used to mean a process of “increasing the level of participation in the policy cycle, of providing transparency for the decision process ...

from policy makers” (Tsoukias, Montibeller, Lucertini, & Belton, 2013, p.119). The scholars contend that legitimation in a policy cycle covers four things: legitimation for the actors themselves, for the actors’ actions within policy formulation, for the policy outcomes or decisions and legitimation for the policy formulation process itself. Exchange of key resources such as information and knowledge yields legitimation (Tsoukias et al., 2013). This study uses legitimation as discussed by Tsoukias et al. (2013).

2.4.4 Policy implementation

This stage involves carrying out all the activities outlined in a policy and these activities may include establishment of new institutions or assignment of new responsibilities to existing institutions (Dye, 2013). Within the process model, policy formulation precedes implementation. Some scholars argue that without policy in place there is no implementation (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005) and formulation creates policy. Policy implementation may also entail formulation of development of rules and regulations for use by different actors (Dye, 2013). Because public policies are statements of goals, values and practices that are intended to solve a public problem, their formulation must make meaning to those that will be responsible for their implementation (Dye, 2013). This is the case because actors who formulate public policy may be different from those who implement it. For example, Moran et al. (2006) note that policy objectives and how they will be achieved are made at the highest level of governments while implementation is the responsibility of the lower levels, where there may be challenges about the interpretation and implementation of the policy. These interpretations or misinterpretations may lead to success or failure. The dominance of external actors in public policy-making whose norms and values could be interpreted differently by the local actors may result in poor policy outcomes. Outcomes are based on interactions between policy actors who participate in a network (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000). For a comparison of the two approaches, see Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Comparison between Top-down and Bottom-up Approaches (Sabatier, 1986, p.33)

Description	Top-down	Bottom-up
Initial Focus	Government decision	Local implementation structure involved in a policy area
Identification of major actors in the process	From top down and from government out to private sector	From bottom up
Evaluative criteria	Focus on extent of attainment of formal objectives (carefully analysed)	Much less clear
Overall focus	How does one steer the system to achieve policy-makers' intended policy results?	Strategic interaction among multiple actors in a policy network

As in agenda setting, there are also two approaches to implementing public policy, which are classified as top-down and bottom-up methods (Table 2.7). The top-down approach is a method in which the highest-ranking officials in government impose a policy decision on implementing officials and target groups (Hill, 2005; Sabatier, 1986). This method mostly emphasises the level and justification for the attainment of policy objectives (Sabatier, 1986). To some extent, the top-down method follows the stages model and differentiates policy formulation from policy implementation (Hill, 2005). Critics of this perspective argue that the method ignores other equally important actors such as those from the private sector (Sabatier, 1986) because the decision is mainly from some public authority. Furthermore, the approach fails to show the difference between policy formulation and policy implementation. On the other hand, the bottom-up approach is a result of some interactions among actors who debate a pertinent issue affecting the public and arrive at a consensus on the issue (Cloete & Wissink, 2000). A scholar suggests setting out the method by:

“Identifying the network of actors involved in service delivery in one or more local areas and asks them about their goals, strategies, activities, and contacts. It then uses the contacts as a vehicle for developing a network technique to identify the local, regional, and national actors involved in the planning, financing, and execution of the relevant governmental and non-governmental programs”. (Sabatier, 1986, p.32)

Past work has shown that each of the two approaches has its own strengths and weaknesses. Consequently, scholars suggest the need to consider the strengths of each of the two approaches prior to choosing an implementation model (Cloete & Wissink, 2000; Sabatier, 1986).

2.4.5 Policy evaluation

Policy evaluation stage is for a stage for assessment regardless of whether the policies are achieving their intended objectives (Birkland, 2015; Dye, 2012). Policy evaluation is also concerned with analysing the impact of policies on the population (Hill, 2005). This position is supported by other scholars who suggest that the purpose of the evaluation stage is to understand the consequences and effects of a policy after it has been implemented (Cloete et al., 2006). Hill (2005) classifies evaluation of policy into descriptive and prescriptive categories.

There are a variety of policy evaluation types. For example, Cloete et al. (2006) categorise them into two namely staged and time-framed. In staged policy evaluations, all the stages of the policy process are evaluated until the end of the policy cycle. On the other hand, the scholars describe time-framed evaluations as those that assess tangible policy outputs over a short, medium or long term.

Furthermore, different methods are used in policy evaluations and these are outlined in Table 2.8 (Hogwood & Gunn, 1984).

This study will adopt the *policy process model* proposed by most scholars to explore the effects of influence of external actors on national ICT policy formulation because the focus is on policy formulation, a process which is clearly outlined in the first two stages of the model.

Table 2.8: Methods for evaluating policies (Metfula, 2013)

Method	Description
Before and after studies	This method compares pertinent outputs with the situation before the programme.
Models	are usually mathematical in form and make use of theories such as the cause and effect theory. Models of evaluation study outputs, lags and changes that may have an effect on the desired outcomes. Models can sometimes be longitudinal.
Experiments	are usually the most reliable, and use surveys and statistical methods to understand different factors that may affect a programme.
Retrospective cost-benefit analysis	analyses costs of the programme, direct or indirect costs, by examining the present and the past, and in the process possibly even predicting the future.

2.5 Policy Networks

Policy network has three meanings: as a “(i) description of governments at work, (ii) theory for analysing government policy-making, and (iii) prescription for reforming public management” (Moran et al., 2006, p.426). A policy network consists of clusters or complexes of actors that are connected to each other by resource and interest dependencies (Borzel, 1998) and through these networks, actors take different courses of action (Blom-Hansen, 1999). A *policy network* is defined as “a cluster of concepts focusing on government links with, and dependence on, other state and societal actors” (Moran et al., 2006, p.425).

Policy network, as a description, is used to refer to three focus areas as interest intermediation, inter-organisational analysis and governance (Moran et al., 2006). “Governments confront a multitude of groups all keen to influence a piece of legislation or policy implementation. Some groups are outsiders and are deemed extreme in behaviour and unrealistic in their demands, so are kept at arm’s length. Others are insiders, acceptable to government, responsible in their expectations, and willing to work with and through government. Government needs them to make sure it meets its policy objectives” (Moran et al., 2006, p.428). Governance deals with the sharing of power between actors from public and private sectors during policy-making and the most common alliance being among business, trade unions, and the government (Moran et

al., 2006). Policy actors and their relationships may be categorised through policy networks (Smith, 2007).

As a theory, policy network may be applicable in two streams namely power dependence and rational actor, depending on how a scholar seeks to explain network behaviour. Power dependence entails that an “organisation is dependent on other organizations for resources” while the rational actor stream explains how policy networks operate “by combining rational choice and the new institutionalism to produce actor-centered institutionalism” (Moran et al., 2006, p.431). Scholars have used policy network to explain the behaviour of actors in terms of power dependence (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013). These scholars analysed the behaviour of actors in terms of the influences external actors had during formulation of a national ICT policy in a developing country context.

Finally, as a reform, policy network may be used in public sector management as an instrument, for interacting with other actors and as an institution (Moran et al., 2006). This aspect is outside the scope of this study and thus will not be elaborated further in this thesis.

The complex relationship between policy networks and policy outcomes has been noted. For example, Marsh and Smith (2000, p.4) demonstrate the existence of three interactive relationships between a policy network and outcomes, which are: “the structure of the network and the agents operating within them; the network and context within which it operates; and the network and policy outcome”. Chiumbu (2008) and Metfula (2013) used policy network analysis to analyse the ICT policy formulation processes in the cases of the African Information Society Initiative (AISII) and Eswatini respectively. However, it was not the scholars’ intention to explore the effects of the relationship between the policy network and the policy outcomes. This area therefore needs further research. Furthermore, past research has described policy network as neither a model nor a theory (Peterson, 2003).

Policy actors come into the policy-making space with their own resources (Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013). Policy is an interpretation of actors from both public and private sectors including NGOs who come into the policy-making space with different problems and motivations (Birkland, 2015). In other words, policy networks are a composition of different actors, their relations and the rules that guide how the actors behave within the policy space (Thissen & Walker, 2013). However, in practice, it may be difficult to set boundaries among actors in a network because of the interdependencies among the actors

(Thissen & Walker, 2013). For example, in a study on the Eswatini national ICT policy formulation, some local actors within the policy network had links with actors that were external to the process and these included UNECA and experts from the Finnish Government (Metfula, 2013).

Public policy-making is a public activity that affects a large number of people together with their interests (Metfula, 2013). In that regard, there are propositions that public policy-making should be performed by lower-level actors so as to balance the top-down perspective with the bottom-up perspective, which is action-oriented (Hill, 2005). In an ideal situation, policy-making is a participatory task (Howlett et al., 2009). Participatory approaches tend to: “(1) increase the motivation of those involved; (2) enhance the knowledge and values basis of policy-making; (3) initiate a process of social learning; (4) open up opportunities for conflict resolution and achieving the common good; and (5) improve the level of acceptance and legitimacy of political decisions” (Abels, 2007, p.103). Literature suggests that ‘the best practice’ approach to policy formulation has not been always the case. For instance, although the Eswatini national ICT policy formulation was participatory, it involved departments and units that were mostly loyal to the government but not to society, in which case government was still the dominant actor (Metfula, 2013). Similarly, at regional level, Chiumbu (2008) observed that external actors such as UNECA and the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) largely dominated the policy formulation of the AISI over domestic actors. There are many actors that participate in policy-making and these may include: pressure groups, politicians and civil servants, among others (Hill, 2005).

Table 2.9: Roles of Actors in policy-making (Thissen & Walker, 2013)

Role	Description
Stakeholders	actors that are affected by the problem situation or by the solutions considered. These have stakes in the outcome of the policy
Policy actors	actors that directly influence the problem situation and its development
Policy implementers	actors that take part in implementation of solutions

Actors face complex problem situations and each problem situation may determine the role an actor plays in the policy process (Thissen & Walker, 2013). Actors may also take part in multiple roles at the same time (Thissen & Walker, 2013). For instance, a stakeholder may

actively influence the problem situation as a policy actor or take part in its implementation. These roles are defined in Table 2.9.

Policy network is also described as a “set of formal institutional and informal linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared and endlessly negotiated beliefs and interests in public policy-making and implementation. These actors are interdependent and policy emerges from the interactions between them” (Moran et al., 2006, p. 426). Most scholars have used policy networks to mean the interactions of actors in a policy process. For example, in research on the interplay on the national ICT policy formulation in Eswatini, Metfula (2013) used the term to mean a group of all local actors who participated in the policy process.

Literature suggests that policy network may be categorised into policy community and issue network (Marsh, 1998; Moran et al., 2006). These two categories are briefly discussed further in the subsequent sections.

2.5.1 Policy community

A policy community consists of a group of actors with expertise in studying, understanding, negotiating, or explaining an issue. Furthermore, the positions occupied by actors in the policy community are not fixed such that some actors join the grouping while others leave (Birkland, 2015; Moran et al., 2006). Within a policy community, actors with similar interests are likely to form connections, alliances, and coalitions and one way in which the participants achieve this objective is through the formation of iron triangles or sub-governments (Moran et al., 2006). An *iron triangle* is defined as “a particular style of sub-government in which there are mutually reinforcing relationships between a regulated interest, the agency charged with regulation, and the congressional subcommittee charged with policy-making in that issue area” (Birkland, 2015, p.156). A policy community is characterised by (Moran et al., 2006, p.427):

- i. “Limited participation in which some groups are deliberately excluded”;
- ii. “Interaction among members of the policy community on policy activities”;
- iii. “Values, membership as well as policy outcomes are consistent over time”;
- iv. “Decisions are through consensus”;
- v. “Common control of resources by the policy community”.

2.5.2 Issue network

Issue network is a second type of policy network, which is identified as a loose network with fluctuating interaction and access by various actors (Marsh, 1998). Usually consensus in this type of network is difficult to obtain and conflict is most often the norm (Moran et al., 2006). Furthermore, issue networks are less formal with a high number of participants (Chiumbu, 2008). In brief, characteristics of issue networks include (Moran et al., 2006, p.428):

- i. “Many participants”;
- ii. “Participants can interact with and access each other”;
- iii. “Decisions are not made through consensus”;
- iv. “Participants with more resources are more powerful than those with fewer resources”;
- v. “Participants interact through consultation”.

2.6 ICT Policy Formulation in Africa

Several countries in Africa have formulated national ICT policies (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013). The idea to develop public ICT policies originated in 1993 when the first National Information Infrastructure (NII) was created in the United States of America (USA) (Miller, 2002; Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The NII initiative saw the birth of national and regional information society initiatives globally by the mid-1990s. In Africa, the AISI was set up in 1996 with the support of UNECA together with international organisations such as UNESCO, IDRC, the ITU and the World Bank (Olatokun, 2008; Yusuf, 2005).

2.6.1 ICT policies in Africa

Following the establishment of the NII in the United States (US), a number of national and regional information society initiatives were launched across the globe. Global Information Infrastructure Commission (GIIC) was subsequently created and charged with the role of overseeing the setting up of all regional initiatives including the AISI (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). Bilateral and multilateral donors played a role in advising countries to formulate national ICT policies specifically those from the developing world as a way of joining *the information society* (Chiumbu, 2008). Thus a number of countries in Africa started formulating national ICT policies (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008).

The AISI was created with assistance from UNECA (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Dzidonu, 2002; Metfula, 2013). The AISI played a role in the development of NICI plans and ICT policies in Africa (Olatokun, 2008). Consequently, the NICI developed a policy framework and implementation plan, which was later adopted as a blueprint by 56% (27 of the 48 countries) of countries on the continent in developing national ICT policies (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). Nearly 27% (13 of the 48 countries) of the countries followed an incremental approach to policy formulation while an estimated 17% (8 of the 48 countries) had not yet formulated ICT policies by 2006 (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The incremental approach entailed formulating ICT policy focusing on vertical dimensions of societal functions such as education, health and agriculture (Adam, 2008).

Table 2.10: Distribution of access (ITU, 2016)

Region	% of population without access to the internet	% of Internet penetration for women and men		% of households with Internet access
		Female	Male	
Africa	74.9%	21.9%	28.4%	15.4%
Americas	35.0%	64.4%	65.6%	64.4%
Europe	20.9%	76.3%	82.0%	84.0%
Arab States	58.4%	36.9%	46.1%	45.7%
Asia & Pacific	58.1%	39.5%	47.5%	46.4%
CIS	33.4%	65.0%	68.5%	67.8%

It is shown that the provision of universal and affordable access to ICTs is a policy issue (Adam, 2008). However, despite most countries in Africa formulating national ICT policies, ITU data (see Table 2.10), for instance, show that about 75% of the population in Africa still did not have access to the internet in 2016 (ITU, ITU, 2016). This appears to suggest that the policies are not achieving their intended outcomes.

Some countries in Africa face challenges in the realisation of policy objectives. For example, implementation of the national ICT policy objectives in Kenya was beset by challenges such as (Odongo, 2012):

- i. no comprehensive policy and regulatory framework;
- ii. poor infrastructure;
- iii. fewer skilled ICT personnel.

Similarly, Ghana experienced a number of challenges with its first version of the national ICT policy, which are that the country has (Odongo, 2012):

- i. a relatively high population growth;
- ii. about 60% young people and 5% over 65 years of age;
- iii. illiteracy levels close to 40%;
- iv. nearly 40% of population below poverty line.

2.6.2 African Information Society Initiative

In May 1995, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Conferences of Ministers' meeting comprising 53 African Ministers for Social and Economic Development and Planning (SEDP) appointed a High Level Working Group (HLWG) on ICTs to fast track socioeconomic development of Africa and its people (Ajayi, 2002; Chiumbu, 2008; Olatokun, 2008). The HLWG, which came up with an action framework that later came to be known as the AISI, was made up of African Technical experts that were charged with the role of drafting the action framework to utilise ICTs in African countries (Ajayi, 2002). The AISI was subsequently approved by all the Africa's Planning Ministers at their subsequent meeting in May 1996 (Chiumbu, 2008). Thus, the AISI action framework was about (Ajayi, 2002):

- i. Formulation the NICI plan was based on individual country development priorities;
- ii. Sharing of resources among African countries;
- iii. Coordinational relationships between Africa and international agencies including the private sector.

Furthermore, the AISI was created to "enable African leaders, decision makers and planners to position Africa in the world's rapidly expanding global economic system and accelerate the pursuit of Africa's development goals, which include" (Ajayi, 2002, p.5):

- i. "Improvement of the quality of life for every African";
- ii. "Economic integration in the region";
- iii. "Improved trade and other linkages with the global community".

2.6.3 National Information and Communication Infrastructure

With time, the AISI in turn created a framework for the development of national ICT plans in African countries through the establishment of the NICI (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Miller, 2002; Njihia & Merali, 2011). The NICI became a framework for developing national ICT policies in African countries and it is described as a plan that was created “to facilitate the digital inclusion of Africa and integration of the continent into the globalisation process and an exercise aiming at developing national ICT policies, strategies and plans which serve as roadmap for the countries’ participation in the knowledge economy” (Chiumbu, 2008, p.10). This means that from the onset, the NICI plans “have addressed the *governance realm*—a sort of social contract concerned with the shared expectations of government and communities” (Lance & Bassolé, 2006). One of the objectives or themes within the NICI plan is e-government, which is the basis for the policies that most African countries adopted.

The process of developing the NICI policies and plans was sponsored by a number of external actors such as UNECA, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the IDRC of Canada (Ajayi, 2002; Chiumbu, 2008). Other scholars show that external actors such as United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), UNESCO and the World Bank supplemented UNECA’s efforts in developing NICI activities in African countries (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Ajayi, 2002; Chiumbu, 2008).

The NICI is a framework of processes, involving (Ajayi, 2002, p.6):

- i. “Needs assessment”;
- ii. “High level policy sensitisation workshops”;
- iii. “Development of NICI plans”;
- iv. “Identification and selection of programmes, projects and initiatives”;
- v. “Preparation of policy”.

The NICI approach is described as consisting of four key outputs, which are: framework, policy, plan and structures (Lance & Bassolé, 2006). A scholar describes the *framework* as a platform for setting the agenda that guides the development of the policy, plan and structures and the *policy* as a document that aims at providing details of the key commitments of government (Dzidonu, 2002; Lance & Bassolé, 2006). The *plan* is an outline of the details of the programmes and initiatives for implementing the policy commitments while the *structures*

deal with institutional arrangements for the development and implementation of the public ICT policies and plans (Dzidonu, 2002).

The African countries that followed this framework were expected to set up national teams that would be charged with development of NICI policies, plans and strategies including other arrangements for policy implementation (Ajayi, 2002; Lance & Bassolé, 2006).

Although most African countries have formulated national ICT policies, there is evidence that the failure rate of ICT projects such as e-government and health IS is high (Dodson, Sterling, & Bennett, 2012; Heeks, 2006). Similarly, the digital divide ratings between Africa and the rest of the world including other developing countries and sub-continent remain wide (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Avgerou, 2000; Gillwald, 2010; ITU, 2016; Mansell, 2008; Njihia & Merali, 2013; Odongo, 2012). Other studies show that African countries have not been very effective in the attainment of ICT policy outcomes (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Metfula, 2013).

2.7 National ICT Policy

A national ICT policy is described as a specification of objectives and strategies that may assist in providing direction and controlling implementation of ICTs (Odongo, 2012). Related to this description, a scholar defines a national ICT policy as “an integrated set of decisions, guidelines, laws, regulations, and other mechanisms geared to directing and shaping the production, acquisition, and use of ICTs” (Marcelle, 2000, p.39). The common terms in both definitions are issues of implementation and use of ICTs. This appears to suggest that a national ICT policy is key to implementation of ICT projects including use and control of ICTs. In short, a national ICT policy is vital for the development of a nation through implementation and use of ICTs (Odongo, 2012; Olatokun, 2008). Furthermore, the definitions suggest that policy outcomes are achieved from implementation and use of ICTs. Although most countries in Africa are formulating public policies in ICT and despite the various research on the national ICT policy arena, unintended policy outcomes have been reported. For example, Heeks (2003; 2006) has noted high failure rates of IS projects in developing countries especially in Africa. The scholar has attributed the poor outcomes in IS projects in Africa to gaps associated with the technology itself and the reality of the country-context (Heeks, 2006). Some scholars who study national ICT policies agree that external actors influence agenda setting and policy formulation stages in most developing countries (Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013).

Past work has postulated access to or use of ICTs as a basis of public ICT policy. For example, Adam (2008, pp3-4) argues that “ICT policies that promote equitable access have considerable impact on broader development goals such as education, ensuring access to health services, land and natural resources, and the well-being and empowerment of the population. But despite good policy intention, several challenges remain in achieving the goal of equitable access”.

2.7.1 Categories of ICT policies

ICT policies are classified into three streams as vertical, infrastructural and horizontal policies (Hafkin, 2002; Yusuf, 2005). Vertical ICT policies address needs of sectors such as education, health and agriculture while infrastructural policies cover areas such as the development of national infrastructure and are closely linked with telecommunication. Horizontal policies cover “the impact on broader aspects of society such as freedom of information, tariff and pricing, privacy and security” (Yusuf, 2005, p.318). Most national ICT policies in developing countries particularly in Africa encompass the three categories. For example, the NICI framework had four major areas namely, youth and development, health, business and commerce, and ICT policy and regulations (Makoza & Chigona, 2013). These areas cut across all the three policy streams.

Other scholars classify ICT policies as falling into three areas of “telecommunications (especially telephone communications), broadcasting (radio and TV) and the Internet”, which may be national, regional or international in scope (Adeyeye & Iweha, 2005, p.202). The scholars posit that “each level may have its own decision-making bodies, sometimes making different and even contradictory policies”. These areas appear to fall into the earlier classification of infrastructural policies and indeed Yusuf (2005) classifies telecommunication under infrastructural policy stream.

2.7.2 Policy-making in developing countries

The formulation of national ICT policies in Africa has attracted many actors. The AISI developed the NICI model in 1996 as a framework for formulating national ICT policies (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2013). Countries in Africa have been developing national ICT policies using two separate routes: (i) blueprint approach, which was the NICI framework and (ii) an incremental approach, which is an approach that focuses on “building blocks such as national educational capacity, infrastructure, content and public sector service delivery through ICTs” (Adam & Gillwald, 2007, p.6).

By the early 2000s, several countries had adopted the blueprint approach. Among those that followed this approach are: Gambia, Ghana, Malawi, Rwanda and Eswatini (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The few countries which followed the incremental approach to developing ICT policy include Botswana, Mauritius, Morocco, South Africa and Tunisia (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). However, countries that adopted the blueprint approach have been less effective in the attainment of policy objectives (outcomes) than those countries that followed the incremental approach (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). Implementation or application of ICTs at country level stems from a national ICT policy (Odongo, 2012).

Poor ICT policy outcomes in Africa are also partly attributed to the shortage of “critical research capacity that acknowledges the political dimensions of policy reform and economic regulation” (Gillwald, 2010, p.79). Research suggests that this capacity is key to developing sound and effective policies that can address the needs of the poor in society (Diga et al., 2013).

2.7.3 Local Stakeholders’ Involvement on Policy

Inclusion of other stakeholders during policy-making is encouraged in literature. Studies, for example, suggest that regional economic groupings such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) play a vital role in ICT policy-making. The studies identify sharing of knowledge by member states resulting in a deeper understanding of technical and economic issues and establishment of common goals among member countries as potential benefits of harmonisation during regional policy-making (Maitland & van Gorp, 2009; van Gorp, 2008). It has been suggested that regional economic integration may be achieved through the formulation of generic and standardised policies for use by member states in developing their own national policies (Maitland & van Gorp, 2009; van Gorp, 2008;). Major challenges have been noted despite the listing of these potential benefits from harmonisation. The challenges include extra costs that are incurred by member countries during the harmonisation process and the difficulties associated with policy harmonisation, usually caused by different interests among member states (Maitland & van Gorp, 2009). However, regional policy-making may only be effective in situations where individual countries, through their country context, embrace the idea of policy-making by developing national ICT policies (Odongo, 2012). Adam (2008, p.18) points out that “political, economic and regulatory differences in most countries pose major challenges for meaningful ... policy harmonisation”. This research therefore aims at understanding the policy formulation process at a national level.

The benefits that accrue from stakeholder involvement in IS projects are well documented. For example, Heeks (2006) perceives that most of the IS projects that have failed to attain their objectives in developing countries are as a result of foreign influence where the local stakeholders are largely ignored. Other studies show that formulation of national ICT policies in Africa are largely influenced by external actors with little or no involvement of local stakeholders (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013; Odongo, 2012).

2.7.4 ICT policy challenges

Developing countries face several challenges during implementation of national ICT policies, which relate to economic, social and political challenges. For example, research on the implementation of e-government activities in Botswana revealed poor ICT infrastructure, security and privacy issues, low level of internet penetration, lack of allocated budget for ICT initiatives, limited IT skills and training, culture, and lack of citizen awareness and participation as some of the challenges facing developing countries (Nkwe, 2012). Challenges such as lack of adequate ICT infrastructure and political will and non-contextualisation of content in adopting e-government activities have been reported in African studies (Bwalya, 2009). E-government as an ICT initiative, is one of the areas that most governments in Africa have embraced as part of their national ICT policies. This appears to suggest that country context is vital in implementing ICT projects including their use. This seems to be in tandem with scholars who suggest that country context should be considered during policy formulation (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Kendall et al., 2006).

2.8 Actors in Public policy-making

The role and influences of actors in public policy-making have been a subject of interest for many years. For example, several public policy analyses postulate that stakeholders such as decision makers, elected representatives, interest groups, policy makers, clients, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) take part in different policy discourses, which include championing a particular policy, assisting in policy content development or implementing policy in various areas (Knoepfel et al., 2007; Moran et al., 2006). An actor in public policy-making has been defined “as an action unit” (Thissen & Walker, 2013, p.187), which entails that an actor’s focus is on actions related to a problem situation. Other literature describes an actor based on its structure such as individual, several individuals, a legal entity or a social group (Knoepfel et al., 2007). An actor, as in Table 2.9, becomes a stakeholder when it is affected by the problem being addressed or by the solutions

being proposed and is a policy actor where it has some influence during the formulation of a policy (Thissen & Walker, 2013).

The government is described as the main actor in public policy-making, even in situations where ideas come from other actors such as external and non-governmental actors (Birkland, 2015). The term actor may be used to mean an individual, several individuals, an organisation or a social group (Knoepfel et al., 2007). Participants in the policy process and indeed in policy formulation are called *policy actors* and these normally operate within a policy network (Moran et al., 2006; Thissen & Walker, 2013). This research adopts the definition of policy actor as one who takes part in formulating a policy but not confined to a policy network.

Policy actors may be differentiated based on their nature such as those from the public sector or private sector (Knoepfel et al., 2007). Those that represent the public sectors are called public actors while actors from the private sector are private actors (Birkland, 2015; Knoepfel et al., 2007). Other literature includes NGOs as a third category of actors (Birkland, 2015; Thissen & Walker, 2013). Actors in a policy-making activity come from the public and private sectors (Birkland, 2015).

Actors may also be categorized as visible and invisible (Moran et al., 2006). The actors that are physically present in a *policy network* are visible while invisible actors (also called hidden participants) are those that are not physically present and operate from the background. Both visible and invisible actors may influence or even facilitate the proceedings of the policy network (Moran et al., 2006). Other categorisation of actors include official and unofficial actors. Official actors take part in public policy due to the nature of their responsibilities, which mandate them through a country's laws to develop and enforce policies (Birkland, 2015). For example, different branches of government such as legislative, executive and judicial branches are also regarded as official actors (Birkland, 2015). Unofficial actors are those actors whose mandates are not explicitly defined in a country's statutes. Examples of these actors include the media, interest groups, Non-Governmental Organisations, among others. Both groups of actors may influence the proceedings in a policy network (Birkland, 2015).

In this way, it is seen that policies are formulated by networks of actors, which have formal and informal rules in a setup where each actor has "certain perceptions, values, and resources" (Thissen & Walker, 2013, p.186). The research aims at identifying how the perceptions, values and resources of the external actors affect policy outcomes of a developing country.

Policy actors may also be classified based on their place of origin and include local actors and external actors (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013). Most national ICT policies in African countries

are influenced by external actors. For example, Metfula (2013) interviewed 18 actors in a study on the formulation of the national ICT policy of Eswatini and only two among those interviewed were external actors who largely influenced the policy process. Similarly, Kenya formulated its national ICT policy partly because UNESCO was ready to fund the process (Waema, 2005). The funding of the policy process is some form of influence. Table 2.11 shows definitions and examples of the categories of policy actors in this study. In Africa actors that have participated in the formulation of national ICT policies have generally been classified into the two categories of local actors and external actors (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013; Odongo, 2012).

2.8.1 *Local actors*

Local actors are defined as shown in Table 2.11. Examples of local actors may include government, NGOs, CSOs, media, academics and the private sector (Metfula, 2013).

2.8.2 *External actors*

The definition of *external actors* in this study is stated in Table 2.11. These actors may include bilateral and multilateral donors such as Department for International Development (DFID), USAID, IDRC, the World Bank and United Nations (UN) agencies such as UNESCO and UNDP.

Table 2.11: Policy actors (Chiumbu, 2008)

Category of Actor	Definitions	Examples of Actors
External actors	These actors are external (outside of a national boundary) to a policy making environment but may influence or affect the formulation of policy within a policy network or from the background	World Bank, UN agencies, IDRC, International Monetary Fund (IMF), UN agencies, IDRC, bilateral donors, USAID
Local actors	These are actors that play some role in policy making within a policy making boundary such as country through a policy network	Private sector organisations, educational institutions, government ministries, departments and agencies including parastatal organisations, non-governmental organisations, civil society organisations, media organizations

2.9 Factors Influencing the Formulation of Policy

Nearly all studies of different policy areas such as health, education and agriculture have shown that participants take time to discuss technical issues which may include the size of the problem

to be solved and availability of expertise in a policy area (Sabatier, 1991). Other factors that influence policy formulation include “the role of advocacy, the locus of leadership within governments, the importance of communication in various contexts, and the roles of capacity-building and advocacy networks and researchers” IDRC (as cited in Etta & Elder, 2005, p.12). Some of these factors are elaborated in the subsequent sub-sections.

2.9.1 Participation of actors

Public policy-making is a participatory task in an ideal situation (Howlett et al., 2009). Participation tends to motivate those involved; enable wider involvement among citizens thereby improving the acceptance level of an issue but also the legitimacy of the decisions made (Macintosh, 2004).

Past work has shown that external actors have largely dominated the development of public ICT policies in developing countries. For example, a study on the formulation of a national ICT policy in Eswatini shows that 2 of the 18 actors who took part in the policy formulation stage were external actors and indirectly influenced the policy formulation from the background as invisible actors (Metfula, 2013). The research also suggests that these external actors dominated the policy formulation stage including the resulting policy. Furthermore, research shows that external actors such as UNECA put pressure on the policy network to adhere to standards in the formulation of the Eswatini national ICT policy in addition to the actor approving the draft policy on behalf of the country (Metfula, 2013). Another study on the role and influence of external actors regarding the establishment of the AISI reveals that external actors such as UNECA and HLWG members largely dominated the setting up of the AISI specifically the creation of the NICI (Chiumbu, 2008). Etta and Elder (2005) also noted that most donors such as USAID and the ITU mostly influenced the formulation of national ICT policies in African countries through their funding initiatives. For example, the national ICT policies in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania were developed following the release of funding by the IDRC (Etta & Elder, 2005). These studies mostly show an imbalance of participation during policy formulation between local and external actors.

Scholars suggest that “an actor’s passivity, whether deliberate or the result of a lack of resources or of a failure to realise the importance of certain issues ...” (Knoepfel et al., 2007, p.41) may contribute to poor policy outcomes. For example, weaknesses were revealed in research that compared national ICT policies of Ghana and Kenya with those of Singapore,

Korea, Canada, Australia and Malaysia, which were “five successful countries recognized worldwide on ICT policy formulation, policy focus areas and policy implementation” (Odongo, 2012, p.192). One of the major weaknesses noted was lack of stakeholders’ involvement during the formulation of the Kenya’s national ICT policy, which resulted in (Odongo, 2012, p. 200):

- i. “Lack of full ownership and operational institutional framework”;
- ii. “Poor coordination during implementation”;
- iii. “Lack of coherent but integrated implementation strategies”.

Furthermore, the study revealed that the Kenya and Ghana national ICT policies were generic, which did not have any vision statement and strategies. Yet a national ICT policy is “a statement of goals, objectives and strategies that are intended to direct and control implementation of ICTs” (Odongo, 2012, p.192).

2.9.2 Composition of the policy network

The composition of a policy network may affect policy formulation through policy dynamics. For instance, a study on the interplay between policy networks and formulation of a national ICT policy in Eswatini revealed that the policy network was also dominated by local actors who were loyal to the government (Metfula, 2013). This loyalty may affect the outcome of the policy itself.

Thissen and Walker (2007, p.89) situates actor interdependencies in three set ups where actors may have:

- i. “Control over resources needed to achieve the problem owner’s objectives”;
- ii. “Formal power over necessary conditions”;
- iii. “More informal powers to block decisions or frustrate the process”.

To address these dependencies, scholars suggest that analysis of policy should focus on major dependencies and resources but also caution that exhausting dependencies for all the actors “may easily lead to confusion rather than clarity” (Thissen & Walker, 2007, p.89) and the authors suggest an analysis of power and resources as a good starting point. Power “is exercised over individuals and groups by offering them things they value or by threatening to deprive them of those things. These values are the base of power, and they can include physical safety, health, and well-being; wealth and material possessions; jobs and means to a livelihood;

knowledge and skills; social recognition, status, and prestige; love, affection, and acceptance by others; and a satisfactory self-image and self-respect” (Harrison, 2011, p.19).

2.9.3 Behaviour of actors

The behaviour of policy actors is critical in understanding the effects of policy. For example, the behaviour of an actor influences the way in which a public problem is specified and literature proposes that interpretation of policies should consider how policy actors behave during policy-making (Knoepfel et al., 2007). Birkland (2015) argues that policy actors are not all neutral participants in the policy process. This stance is supported by other scholars who suggest that actors have a dual motivation: that of satisfying their personal needs including defending and that of promoting collective values in the field of policy (Knoepfel et al., 2007). Simply put, actors pursue their own interests and those of the public during the formulation of a policy. For instance, prior research on the case of the formulation of the Eswatini national ICT policy reveals that external actors’ behaviour such as the decision to enforce regional and international standards on ICT policy forced some local actors to pull out of the process (Metfula, 2013). Past work also suggests that the behavior of actors in a policy network is “governed by the formal and informal rules that limit and structure the possible range of activities. Thus, policy networks essentially consist of actors, the relations among them, and the rules that govern their behaviour” Scharpf (as cited in Whitten & Walker, 2013, p.187). Literature proposes that the behaviour of an actor influences the manner in which a public problem is addressed and implemented (Knoepfel et al., 2007). The behaviour of an actor may be explained by three important factors: “perceptions, values, and resources” (Thissen & Walker, 2013, p.186).

Actors in their individual or collective capacities exploit opportunities that are “an inherent part of political-administrative organisations, formal regulations and social norms in order to promote their own values, ideas and interests. They possess, therefore, a certain degree of freedom but also resources, which enables them to develop strategies and tactics” (Knoepfel et al., 2007, p.42). The authors propose that policies should be interpreted by considering the behaviour of partially autonomous actors (Knoepfel et al., 2007).

2.9.4 Complexity of the policy process

Policy actors “attach different meanings to policy proposals according to their own beliefs, values, norms, and life experiences. To account for such variation requires a more inter-

subjective or constructivist approach to the study of public policy and therefore multiple dimensions should be accounted for” (Smith & Larimer, 2009, p.42). Chiumbu (2008) and Metfula (2013) observed that the different meanings to the policy proposal by the different actors in the policy networks were largely ignored by external actors, which may result in the policy being abandoned by the local actors who are the owners of the policy.

2.9.5 Operating environment

The four environments discussed earlier under the *input-output model* can affect the way policies are made. For instance, there have been suggestions that the aging population may pose significant health challenges requiring that public policy should make improvements in human health and in health care for positive progress (Birkland, 2015). Effects in a form of feedback resulting from existing policies may take different forms. These may include complaints related to the functioning of programmes and their perceived socioeconomic dimensions (Beland, 2005). However, the aging population might potentially demand more health care services, which are costly and may not be contained in annual budgets, for example (Beland, 2005).

2.9.6 Policy ideas from actors

Ideas of policy actors may have an impact on the policy formulation process. For example, in a study in which the role and ideas of external actors in the formulation of the AISI were examined, it was argued that actors with material power were better placed to shape ideas that have a bearing on a policy process (Chiumbu, 2008). Furthermore, Rhodes (1997) submits that in a policy network some ideas tend to be more dominating than others and may emanate from other interest groups. A study concerning the interaction between “ideas, institutions and policy-making” also postulates the importance of policy ideas during policy-making (Béland, 2005, p.6).

2.9.7 Actor resources during policy-making

Political, economic and human capital are identified as some of the resources that may be useful during the formulation of a policy (Moran et al., 2006). Birkland (2015) classifies a resource as labour or money. On the other hand, resource is also viewed in terms of social capital. For example, Adler and Kwon (2002, p.18) describe social capital as “the resource available to actors as a function of their location in the structure of their social relations”. Bourdieu (1986, p. 248) defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are

linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition”.

2.9.8 Impact of the influences

A report on the evaluation of donor support on policy initiatives provided to developing countries reveals some challenges that are associated with donor-supported projects. Carden (2005, p.136) suggests a categorisation of the challenges into three main areas as those that:

- i. “Consider the ultimate project impact”;
- ii. “Determine effects of a project through establishment of cause and effect links between the project and the impact”;
- iii. “Ignore the time between the contribution to development (usually 3 to 5 years’ project duration) and the realisation of the benefits (which is a much longer-term process)”.

Scholars argue that it is difficult to yield a fair evaluation report of donor supported projects or influences within periods of three to five years and suggests that assessment would be meaningful over longer periods of time (Carden, 2004; Walt, Shiffman, Schneider, Murray, & Brugha, 2008). Kirst and Jung (1983) and Sabatier (as cited in Sabatier, 1991), support the view that donor supported projects should be assessed after a decade or so of implementation rather than three to four years (Sabatier, 1991). The significance of a policy innovation together with its importance requires time (Sabatier, 1991). However, conducting evaluations after decades has its own challenges, too. For instance, Sabatier (1991) observes that there would be difficulties to obtain good data from units of government apart from the task being costly.

Failure of ICT projects has also been attributed to lack of ownership by local stakeholders. For example, the high rates of failure of health IS projects in developing countries has been linked to influences from donors and consultants through deployment of quick fixes (Heeks, 2003). As an example, Heeks (2003) cites off-the-shelf solutions from the developed world, which may not be suitable for a developing country context. Such influences by external actors generate additional research questions for this study such as *How does the influence of external actors during the formulation of a national ICT policy contribute to poor ICT policy outcomes in a developing country context?*

Policies in other areas have equally been influenced by external factors. For example, past work on trade and industrial policies in Kenya suggests that the policies have been “greatly influenced by external factors, often seriously diluting the local contribution” (Etta & Elder, 2007, p.9). Metfula (2013) also suggests that visibility of external actors in the Eswatini process affected some actors, especially from the private sector, who pulled out of the process on account that their contributions were not needed following the dominance of external actors in the policy formulation process. Although past studies have revealed some of the effects of influence of external actors on policy in the case of Eswatini, it was not the intention of the scholars to study the effects of the influences.

The Free online dictionary defines *effect* to be “something brought about by a cause or agent; a result”. The Cambridge English online dictionary, on the other hand, defines *effect* as “the result of a particular influence; something that happens because of something else”. This study adopts the definition of effects by the Cambridge English online dictionary as it explores how external actors affect or influence formulation of a national ICT policy in a developing country. The purpose of the study is to explore the consequences of the influence of external actors on the formulation of a national ICT policy in a developing country context.

2.9.9 Policy-making context

The Oxford online dictionary defines *context* as “the circumstances that form the setting for an event, statement, or idea, and in terms of which it can be fully understood”. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines the word to mean “the interrelated conditions in which something exists or occurs”. The Cambridge online dictionary defines context as “the situation within which something exists or happens, and that can help explain it”. Context has been used to mean a “user’s location, environment, identity, and time” (Dey, Abowd, & Salber, 2001, p.105). This study uses the term context to mean the setting of an event such as policy formulation and takes the setting to mean a developing country context.

The complex relationship between policy networks and policy outcomes has been noted in literature. For example, there are three interactive relationships involved between a policy network and outcomes, which are “the structure of the network and the agents operating within them; the network and context within which it operates; and the network and policy outcome” (Marsh & Smith, 2000, p.4). Chiumbu (2008) and Metfula (2013) used policy network analysis to analyse the ICT policy formulation processes in the AISI and Eswatini respectively.

However, it was not the scholars' intention to explore the impact of the relationship between the policy network and the policy outcomes. This area needs further research.

2.10 Influences on policy-making

The concept of *influence* has been used by different scholars to mean the impact of a decision. For example, in research on evidence-based health policy, influence was used to mean the impact of context such as actors' expressional personal values, interests, beliefs, or biases towards different sources on evidence-based decision-making (Dobrowa, Goel, & Upshur, 2004). Influence is also used to mean persuading someone to change their position. For example, past work on the role of trust in policy-making suggests that "it is easier to *influence* or *persuade* someone who is trusting" (Folke, Hahn, Olsson, & Norberg, 2005, p.451). The term *influence* has also been used during a policy formulation activity. For example, in a study on the formulation of the national ICT policy of Eswatini, *influence* is used to mean the power of those actors who can significantly change an outcome on policy due to their "numbers/membership, wealth, access to decision makers, organisational strength" (Metfula, 2013, p.38) over other interest groups or actors. In a study on the concept of power, Dahl (1957) suggested that *influence* is synonymous with *power* and *control*. The scholar concluded that the power of an actor is defined by the measure, which is the difference in the probability of an event given some action or inaction by the actor. This observation suggests that actors that influence an event such as policy-making have power or control over certain aspects of the event. That is to say, "the study of the policy process is essentially the study of the exercise of power in the making of policy, and cannot therefore disregard underlying questions about the sources and nature of that power" (Hill, 2005, p.26). In literature, power has also been defined as "the capacity to affect the conduct of individuals through the real or threatened use of rewards and punishments" (Harrison, 2011, p.xi). The author observes that power is a form of influence. The term *effects* is used in this study to mean consequences of the formulation of a national ICT policy while *influence* is used to mean motivation, resources, expertise and power balance during a national ICT policy-making. The importance of power has been recognised in literature. For example, "the EU has a degree of steering capacity, via less coercive governance mechanisms, which means that 'power' can be exercised in the sense of getting other actors to change their behaviour" (Richardson, 2006, p.2).

The structure of relationships of actors in a policy network "influences the interactions among the actors" (Thissen & Walker, 2013, p. 187). The authors observe, for example, that actors

occupying central positions in the network may be more dominant over decision-making than those actors at the lower end of the network. Past research has attributed poor policy outcomes to lack of stakeholder involvement during the formulation of a national ICT policy. For example, literature suggests that national ICT policies that were formulated with little or no stakeholder involvement were hardly implemented (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). Furthermore, lack of understanding of societal needs, limited stakeholder participation and power imbalance among stakeholders were identified as some of the challenges that affect the policy process (Makoza & Chigona, 2013b). A report on the evaluation of IDRC-supported projects also reveals that ownership of projects such as policy by a local partner is a key attribute to getting positive impact (Carden, 2005).

Formulation of most national ICT policies in Africa has been controlled by external actors. For instance, the AISI, which championed the formulation of national ICT policies in most countries in Africa, was largely influenced by external actors' material interests such as implementation of policies that promoted the USA's ethos of a free flow of information (Chiumbu, 2008). The study interviewed a total of 17 actors who were all external to the formulation of policies at national level. They include eight actors from UNECA, three representing HLWG members and six individuals representing regional NGOs. Similarly, the formulation of the national ICT policy in Eswatini was largely dominated by external actors (Metfula, 2013). For example, of the 18 actors who took part in the formulation of the policy, the process was dominated largely by the only two external actors who were invisible actors in the process (Metfula, 2013).

The notion of *influences* in the past decade in different fields has been the subject of past research. For instance, it is suggested that national culture significantly influences different components of the entrepreneurial process (Schlaegel, He, & Engle, 2013) while in health studies, it has been posited that influences of parental monitoring on a child, attachment to mother and attachment to father have a relatively small significance in the use of drugs (Bahr, Hoffmann, & Yang, 2005). In environmental studies, it is suggested that international trade directly and indirectly influences climate change through the emissions of fossil fuels in transportation (Huang, von Lampe, & van Tongeren, 2011). In studies related to national ICT policy, scholars have explored the *influences* of external actors on policy formulation in Africa (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2006; Metfula, 2013). External actors influence local, national, regional and policy outcomes (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu,

2008; Metfula, 2013; O'Neill, Balsiger, & VanDeveer, 2004). Although previous studies have exposed the influences, there is a paucity of research that has examined the effects of the influences.

Past work proposes a relationship between influence and power. For instance, scholars argue that an actor who has influence through the possession of critical resources during the policy process will have more power than one who does not command any influence on the resource (Bouquet & Birkinshaw, 2008).

Generally, influences are classified as falling into direct and indirect influences (Chiumbu, 2008; Huang et al., 2011; Metfula, 2013). In a study on social networks, the term *direct influence* is defined as the influence between two nodes (users) that are connected together while indirect influence as the influence of two nodes (users) which are not connected (Liu, Tang, Han, Jiang, & Yang, 2010). Past studies in the formulation of national ICT policies have also situated two categories of influence. For instance, forms of influence of external actors were categorised as direct and indirect during the formulation of national ICT policies in Africa (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013).

Influences may also be categorised based on their origin. For example, they may be categorised as originating from external actors and these are termed as external influences or from political actors known as political influences. Literature posits that external actors have largely influenced formulation of national ICT policies in Africa (Adam, 2006a; Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013). For example, scholars suggest that influences on policy-making originate from international actors, political actors and interest groups in society (Daley & Garand, 2005). The subsequent sections will focus on influence of external actors because previous studies have revealed that the influence of external actors is more evident in ICT policy-making than other areas of contemporary endeavour; furthermore, ICTs cut across the other fields such as agriculture, health, commerce and governance (Etta & Elder, 2007).

Regional economic communities together with their respective regulatory associations also influence national ICT policy and regulation in member states. For instance, a study suggests that capacity building and policy lobbying are two main mechanisms through which Communications Regulators' Association of Southern Africa (CRASA), a SADC body, influenced national ICT policy formulation and regulation in member states (van Gorp, 2008). This appears to suggest that influences on policy come from regional and international actors alike.

2.10.1 Direct influences

Influences are categorised as direct in situations where an external actor has direct contact with another policy actor in a policy network (Metfula, 2013). For example, the policy formulation process in Eswatini was largely directly influenced by two external actors, UNECA and the Finnish experts. This was reflected in three main areas, which are provision of technical support, provision of financial support and ensuring that time-lines and deadlines are adhered to by the policy network (Metfula, 2013). These influences were targeted at the Eswatini Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Communications (MTEC), which was one of the sixteen local policy actors that participated in the policy process.

There has been direct influence by external actors during formulation of national ICT policies in several African countries. For example, Chiumbu (2008) suggests that national ICT policies in Mozambique, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda were formulated through the direct influence of the IDRC in a form of provision of financial support. In this regard, the IDRC was directly involved in policy formulation on the belief that the policy actors in Africa had little knowledge and few ideas in the field of ICT policies (Chiumbu, 2008). The study suggests that this was a joint venture with UNESCO and the ITU in partnership with private sector companies, which included other external actors such as Nortel Networks, and Canada's telecom company (Chiumbu, 2008). Furthermore, influences of the IDRC on policy were in three areas, namely: expanding the capacities of policy makers, broadening the horizons of policy makers, and affecting national ICT policy regimes (Ofir, 2003). Similarly, Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) suggest that international governing organisations (IGOs), which may include the OECD and the Group of 7 (G7), directly influence national policy-makers through the IGOs' policies and setting of loan conditions for developing countries.

2.10.2 Indirect influences

In cases where there is no direct contact, the influence is classified as indirect. Indirect influence is defined as affective clarification and acceptance, cognitive and skill clarification and acceptance, and supervisor questions (Liu et al., 2010). Thus, external actors indirectly influence some policy actors, for example, through (i) providing frameworks to follow, imposition of time-lines, and increasing presence and visibility (Metfula, 2013). External actors also influence the formulation of national ICT policies indirectly through formation of committees. For example, the IDRC set up National Acacia Advisory Committees (NAACs)

in Mozambique, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda, which involved government officials and policy actors from different sectors within the countries (Chiumbu, 2008). The committees are used as conduits for pushing the ICT for development agenda at the high political agenda in the countries and claims are made that the committees succeed in placing ICT issues on the agenda in different countries (Chiumbu, 2008). For instance, bilateral and multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), G7, UN agencies indirectly influence policy makers through the information and policies that these institutions spread at their conferences and reports (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000). Signing of protocols related to ICT initiatives and participation in conferences may also trigger some affirmative action on policy activities. For example, research reveals that the national ICT policy in Malawi was shaped by signing of the SADC ICT Declaration in 2001 and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) ICT Broadband infrastructure protocol in 2006 (Makoza, 2017). The scholar further suggests that the Malawi ICT policy was shaped by participation of the local actors at international conferences such as the WSIS conferences in 2003 and 2005.

2.10.3 Forms of influences

The influences of external actors may be summarised as taking a number of forms. The review has exposed forms of influence of external actors as falling into:

- i. Development of the NICI framework;
- ii. Provision of financial support;
- iii. Provision of technical support;
- iv. Setting standards during the formulation of national ICT policies;
- v. Setting of events such as the WSIS conference.

2.11 Influences of international actors on foreign policy

International actors have influenced different policy choices in various countries for a long time. For example, in a study on the behaviour of external actors on the local scene, international organisations such as Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), EU and Council of Europe (CE) influenced “the governments of Latvia, Estonia, Slovakia, and Romania to pass certain ethnic minority legislation during the 1990s” (Kelley, 2004, p. 426). For a long time, established donors have set conditions for providing aid to low income countries. Literature suggests that although most established donors such as the World Bank and the IMF have set

conditions for supporting countries with aid mostly in Africa, the conditionality model has not been a complete success. For example, a worldwide survey of 305 IMF supported programmes between 1979 and 1993 shows that 53% of the countries failed to implement 20% or more of the programme's conditions (Woods, 2008). International organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF have been used by stakeholders to influence foreign policy in developing countries. For example, the World Bank has been used by its stakeholders mainly the US to fund projects "to politically important developing countries, such as those serving a term on the UN Security Council" (Dreher, Sturm, & Vreeland, 2009, p.27).

The unbalanced influence of the US foreign policy on international organisations such as the IMF has also been noted. For example, a study on the impact of U.S. interests on the IMF shows that loan conditions are set on countries based on their relationship with the USA (Dreher & Jensen, 2007). An analysis of 38 countries between 1997 and 2003 suggests that political factors, for instance, the borrower's relationship with the USA and other G7 countries, were key determinants of the number of conditions that the IMF imposed (Dreher & Jensen, 2007). Other international organisations that have shown vested interests in embracing inter-regional relations include the EU. Stronger political conditionalities, for instance, have been imposed by international organisations on developing countries under the guise of violating human rights and good governance and violations merely to provision of loans to the countries (Söderbaum & Hettne, 2005).

Research proposes that the size, military and economic strength of a state determine its position in diffusing pressure from Western countries. For example, "weak states with small, underdeveloped economies - including much of sub-Saharan Africa—are far more vulnerable to external pressure than those with substantial military or economic power" (Levitsky & Way, 2005, p.3). The scholars further note that "sanctions, threats, military force, or other instruments of external pressure" are less likely to yield any positive outcomes in countries that are large and more powerful such as China, India, and Russia (Levitsky & Way, 2005, p.21). It is posited that developing countries that join international trade agreements attract more foreign direct investment and in turn increase economic growth (Büthe & Milner, 2008). Most international organisations have advocated for democracy promotion as a foreign policy in their relations with other countries especially in Africa (McFaul, 2004-05).

Forms of influence of external actors on foreign policy of other countries have also been documented. For example, Woods (2008, p.1209) in a bid to prevent China from re-indebting

poor countries, finance ministers of the G7 countries in 2007 “announced that they would seek 'principles for responsible lending and seek to involve other interested parties'”. The author also observes that:

“the US Secretary of the Treasury went a little further in his elaboration of how they hope to corral all donors (particularly China, though these words were unspoken) into the same framework: Responsible lending policies and practices are fundamental to our efforts to enhance support to low-income countries. The key to preserving debt sustainability is to build upon and support the work reflected in the IMF/World Bank Joint Debt Sustainability Framework, and for all creditors to incorporate the framework into their lending practices”. (Woods, 2008, p.1209)

Compared with the G7, literature suggests that “countries with intensified aid and trade links with China are enjoying higher growth rates, better terms of trade, increased export volumes and higher public revenues” (Woods, 2008, p.1208).

2.12 Country context

Research conducted at micro-level has established that country context such as culture plays a role in influencing the adoption behaviour of users of ICTs (Bankole, Bankole, & Brown, 2011). Past studies suggest that country context plays a significant role in implementing ICTs (Dodson et al., 2012; Heeks, 2003, 2006). It is well noted that each country has its unique setting and constraints such as political and economic context (Alfawaz, May, & Mohanak, 2008), which may affect implementation of projects. This claim is supported by scholars who suggest that a country’s socio-economic and cultural issues should be linked to formulation of a national ICT policy (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Njihia & Merali, 2013). However, other scholars argue that there is no alignment between a country’s culture and initiatives in implementation of ICT policy. These scholars observe that many countries do not have a common basis in race, culture or language (Myers & Tan, 2002, p. 13). While past studies have suggested linking formulation of a policy with a country context (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Njihia & Merali, 2013), not much has been done to follow up this recommendation.

Work on country context shows contradictory findings in the literature. For example, one school of thought suggests that policy should be linked to country context (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Kendall et al., 2006) while the other posits that there is no link between policy-making

and country context (Myers & Tan, 2002). The review appears to show that there is little that has been done to explore the effects of country context on national ICT policy formulation.

Literature postulates that implementation of ICT projects must take into account country context such as political, economic and cultural contexts to avoid unintended effects such as project failure. For example, research on e-government implementation experiences from Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya found that e-government projects have mostly failed to achieve their intended outcomes as a result of contextual factors such as illiteracy levels, rural area problems and weak infrastructure (Schuppan, 2009). The subsequent sub-sections provide literature on social, cultural, political and economic context; cross-cultural workings and effects of country context in developing countries. This is done to provide a context in which this research will be undertaken. The contradictory findings on country context need to be explored further regarding the impact of influence of external actors on national ICT policy.

2.12.1 ICT policies and socio-economic context

The importance of understanding people and their context for any activities to be meaningful has been well documented. For example, Carden (2004, p.137) suggests that to “understand how people and societies function, it is imperative to take account of the context-dependent relationship between how people act and how they interpret what has happened”. The author reveals that the most critical shortcoming of the majority of decision making and management theories, policy-making being one of them, is to assume that organisations are the same and the skills necessary to manage those organisations do not vary from one entity to the next (Carden, 2005).

There is evidence that “state policymakers respond to internal characteristics of their state environments when crafting policy. Past work has found that multiple internal determinants explain state action. For example, the severity of a problem, the amount of resources available to a state government, political ideology within a state, and interest group pressure may all influence state policy-making” (Daley & Garand, 2005, p. 618). Thus, research shows that country context plays a significant role in implementing ICTs (Dodson et al., 2012; Heeks, 2006). Scholars have noted that each country has its unique setting and constraints, for example, which might be affected by political or economic contexts (Alfawaz et al., 2008). Public institutions at national level and policy settings are suggested to shape the role of policy specialists due to the uniqueness of political spheres from one country to another (Béland, 2005). This means that a country’s political institutions may also determine the way policy actors conceive and select debated policy options Dobbin (as cited in Beland 2005).

Some differences in needs and experiences between developing countries and the developed economies, which have practical and theoretical implications, have been noted. Theoretically, the wide imbalance in existing research between developed and developing countries particularly in the contexts of introducing ICTs is noted while in practice, developing countries are dominated because of the countries' limited financial and human resources and issues of dependency on foreign institutions (Brown & Thompson, 2011). This is the reason why most national ICT policies in Africa are dominated by influence of external actors who also happen to fund the policy processes such as the case of the IDRC (Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005).

2.12.2 Social, cultural, political and economic context

The social, political and economic contexts of a country play a significant role on Information Technology implementations. For example, Walsham (2001) compiled research findings on the effect of culture in Information Technology projects in the cases of Thailand, Mexico and South Africa and concluded that country context has a significant effect on Information Technology projects. For instance, Rohitratana (2000) found that although junior members of staff noted some shortfalls during the implementation of a material requirements planning system, they could not express their opinions on the implementation as a result of cultural beliefs. The researcher observed that criticising a senior or another person in the Thai context is almost unacceptable. "A person whose opinions are criticised can perceive themselves as insulted, leading them to lose face" (Walsham, 2001, p.186).

Another research on ICT projects in Mexico revealed that cultural constraints such as lack of work ethics among journalists and lack of an information culture directly affected outcomes of Information Technology projects in the three companies. The research was conducted on three companies: two newspaper companies and an online financial information service provider (Jarvenpaa & Leidner, 1998). Walsham (2001, p.191) observes that the newspaper companies "recruited 'fresh new people that had never been journalists' directly from the universities with no exposure to the trade". This had a negative impact relating to the ethical undertakings of the recruited journalists. The same case study also revealed that there was a lack of an information culture in Mexico. For example, it was noted that very few Mexicans were willing to access information from the newspapers and although an online service was made available, the majority of the news subscribers to the online were foreigners (Jarvenpaa & Leidner, 1998).

Another case study, which revealed cultural issues, concerned deployment of a health information system in South Africa. For example, research on implementation of a health

information system project in Mitchell's Plain showed that although data were kept for most of the activities such as in-patients, antenatal care and immunisation, home visits and community health activities, nobody among the locals within the Plain found the statistics useful in their daily work (Braa & Hedberg, 2000). This was despite the local staff spending 20% of their time collecting large amounts of data about the in-patients' activities (Braa & Hedberg, 2000). Challenges were also noted in South Africa regarding development of an information culture. For instance, (Walsham, 2001, p.197) observes that “‘developing an information culture’ implies a complete change in attitude and approach on the part of local health workers of all races in South Africa, who had traditionally operated under a centralized apartheid regime”.

A comparison between South Africa and the rest of the sub-Saharan Africa in the implementation of health IS projects further showed that differences in the socio-economic contexts of countries play a role in implementation of projects. For instance, within sub-Saharan Africa, research revealed huge differences between South Africa and the rest of the sub-Saharan Africa in terms of status with respect to elements of ICTs such as technological infrastructure, the availability of trained personnel, and levels of IT usage (Braa & Hedberg, 2000). Compared to the rest of the sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa has “a relatively well-developed infrastructure and economic base” (Walsham, 2001, p.199).

2.12.3 Working across cultures

Working across cultures or cross-cultural working may be in a form of “short visits by foreign teams to particular local contexts for ‘technology transfer’ projects, or more in-depth collaboration over an extended period of time” (Walsham, 2001, p.207). The scholar observes that disagreements and conflicts may arise due to differences in norms and values between people of different cultures (Walsham, 2001).

Past work postulates that differences in cultures affect outputs of projects and cause conflict. For example, in a software development project that involved cultures from Jamaica and India, Walsham (2001) suggests that the Jamaicans had an attitude problem for not respecting project deadlines. They were only prepared to adhere to their formal working hours as opposed to the Indians who had respect for project deadlines and were prepared to work even beyond formal working hours. These cultural differences among developing countries and different cultures caused significant delays and cost overruns on the project resulting in overall project failure

(Walsham, 2001). Cultural differences between Indians and Jamaicans on other ICT projects have also been noted in other initiatives. For example, it is noted that:

“While occupational cultures for Indians and Jamaicans alike originated from software development, the impact of the local work culture at Indian software houses and the insurance company respectively were significantly different. The norms of an Indian software house include high productivity and profitability, the software development being driven from a specification under strict project deadlines. The norms of an insurer’s MIS department in Jamaica involve application development by MIS personnel working closely with end users with a backlog of applications being quite acceptable”. (Barrett & Walsham, 1995, p.30)

Another research on collaboration between Finnish and Nigerian cultures in the development of a health information system in Nigeria suggests that the project failed due to issues related to bureaucracy, ‘politics’, and ‘lack of awareness’ on the part of the Nigerians. Although the Yoruba tribe in Nigeria faced challenges relating to infrastructure such as electricity supply, telecommunications availability and quality, transportation routes and problems of finance, literature posits that the technology was rejected based on the fact that the Yoruba people expected the solution to come from their leaders, which is an aspect of their culture (Walsham, 2001).

2.12.4 Effects of country context on policy

The preceding sub-sections have provided examples of ICT implementations in connection with social, cultural, political and economic context. The examples have also provided the impact of cross-cultural workings on projects. Different scholars have defined the term ‘national ICT policy’. For example, Odongo (2012, p.192) defines ICT policy as “a formal statement that specifies the objectives, goals, principles, strategies, etc intended to direct and control the development, operation and use of ICT”. Other scholars define a *national ICT policy* as “an integrated set of decisions, guidelines, laws, regulations, and other mechanisms geared to directing and shaping the production, acquisition, and use of ICTs” (Marcelle, 2000, p.39). These definitions appear to touch on two key issues, which relate to implementation and use of ICTs. Based on the two definitions, it would appear that implementation and use of IS projects, for instance, are aspects of ICT policy and the way the policy is formulated may also affect implementation of ICTs. Thus, all policies may be analysed against a policy process, which includes formulation, implementation and evaluation. This review appears to show that

there is a dearth of studies that have linked country context with the formulation of a national ICT policy.

This research will argue that formulation of national ICT policies should take country context into account if the policies are to be embraced by the local stakeholders. The study adopts the view that country context plays a role in shaping a public policy. Furthermore, the study will explore the effects of the influence of external actors in the formulation of national ICT policies.

2.13 Conceptual Framework

This study conceptualises policy-making as having four elements, which are actors, resources, policy and context (see Figure 2.5). In this study, actors constitute players in the policy-making space. Context in this study refers economic, cultural and political environment of a country during a public ICT policy-making activity. Economic environment is defined as technological advances and social groups that can affect the context in which policy is made (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006). Policy actors bring with them resources such as (Moran et al., 2006), cultural goods, intellectual distinction and social class prestige (Bourdieu, 1992) to the policy formulation space and these affect the policy process and its outcomes (Moran et al., 2006; Rhodes, 1997). The resulting policy in a policy process is a reflection of activities (outcomes) from the policy formulation stage.

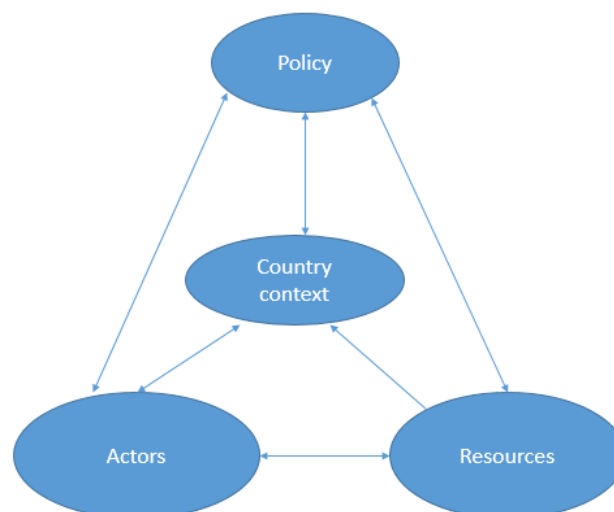


Figure 2.5: Conceptual Framework (Adapted from Austin et al., 2006)

Actors in this framework include local and external actors both of whom bring their own resources, norms and values into the policy space. The use of the resources may affect

(influence) the resulting policy, which is directly linked to a country context. Through this framework, the study firstly proposes to argue that the outcomes of the policy formulation stage (largely dominated by external actors) of the national ICT policy directly affect the content of the subsequent stages of a public policy. Secondly, the study proposes to argue that the interactions of the actors (local and external) through coalitions and use of resources may influence outcomes of the resulting national ICT policy. Thirdly, the study proposes to argue that the context of a country (infrastructural, poverty level, technical capabilities) directly affects the outcome of a national ICT policy of a developing country.

2.14 Gaps in the Literature and Justification for the Study

The review has exposed some forms of influences of external actors during formulation of national ICT policy in Africa. For example, research that sought to understand the role and influence of external actors and ideas in African ICT policies in the case of the AISI found that trans-national business corporations were not directly involved in the establishment of the AISI (Chiumbu, 2008). The scholar found that business sector members such as CISCO, International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) and Worldspace Corporation, were not visible in the policy-making processes of the ECA that led to the development of the framework for formulating national ICT policies in African countries. However, the study found that bilateral / multilateral donors and UN agencies such as UNESCO, ITU and UNDP largely influenced the creation of the AISI. Similarly, in the case of the Eswatini national ICT policy formulation, Metfula (2013) found that UNECA, a UN agency, and the Finnish government experts largely dominated the policy process although they were invisible actors. These studies focused on the interaction of policy actors in a policy network but did not explore how beliefs, values and perceptions of the actors could have affected the policy processes. This area needs attention.

The review has also put to bare the external actors that had some material interests in the AISI, which are categorised as (1) bilateral and multilateral donors such as USAID, IDRC, the World Bank, DFID and the Government of Finland and (2) UN agencies such as UNESCO and the ITU (Chiumbu, 2008). Traditionally, these donors have been partners in providing financial and technical assistance to developing countries particularly in Africa (Etta & Elder, 2005). However, Chiumbu (2008) found that these donors played other roles in the formulation stages of the AISI. For example, the IDRC, ITU and UNESCO pressed for the holding of the *Telematics for Development conference* that gave rise to the emergence of the AISI in addition

to getting directly involved in the selection of the HLWG members including offering policy advice to the group (Chiumbu, 2008, p.169). Furthermore, the study found that the trans-national business corporations played an indirect role in the operations of the AISI. For example, the first two AISI implementation meetings in 1996 and 1997 and the annual review and planning meetings were directed by these business corporations (Chiumbu, 2008). A study on the interplay between policy network actors and ICT policies found that the visibility of external actors in the Eswatini process affected some actors. For example, actors from the private sector pulled out of the policy process on account that their contributions were not needed following the dominance of the external actors in the policy formulation process (Metfula, 2013).

The studies appear to show some power imbalances between external actors and the local policy actors. This external influence appears to be negative as African countries are led into creating policies which are not compatible with local context and the actors' domination limits local participation in the policy-making processes. At the same time, African countries do not appear to have the capacity to formulate policies without the foreign assistance.

2.14.1 Forms of influences

The most common criticisms in the literature reviewed are that external actors influence formulation of national ICT policy in Africa. The studies identify different forms of external influences that include the NICI plan (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Dzidonu, 2002), conferences such as WSIS (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013), technical and financial support (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013; Odongo, 2012), among others. An attempt to identify effects of the influences was made in Metfula's study in which it was suggested that private actors pulled out during the formulation of the Eswatini national ICT policy, which is attributed to external influences. Although withdrawing from a policy-making activity may in some sense be described as an effect, it does not demonstrate an effect on the resulting policy. Furthermore, there appears to be a contradiction in the use of the word *effects* in the study. In the literature review section, Metfula (2013, p.34) suggests that effects of a policy are established through the evaluation stage. However, in the results section, Metfula uses effects to mean *pressure from external actors* and/or *withdrawing of private actors from the policy process* as effects of the external influences on policy. Thus the term effects is not used consistently in the research. In another study, Odongo (2012) identified influences of external actors particularly those from the IDRC as encompassing financial and technical support.

Adam and Gillwald (2007) also reveal that policies that were developed by external actors with little or no involvement of stakeholders were never implemented. However, it appears the scholars did not go beyond identifying the influences to show how the external influences affect policy formulation, which may result in poor policy outcomes. Thus the findings of the studies seem to suggest that it was not the intention of the scholars to explore effects or consequences of the external influences on the policy. The exposed forms of influence of external actors can be summarised into:

- i. NICI framework;
- ii. Provision of financial support;
- iii. Provision of technical support;
- iv. Setting standards during the formulation of national ICT policies;
- v. Setting of events.

2.14.2 Influences of external actors

Scholars have explored influences of external actors on national ICT policy and classified them as direct and indirect influences (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013). However, the review appears to suggest that there is a dearth of studies that have linked country context such as poverty levels, culture and other social dimensions to the technical and financial support that the external actors provide during formulation of public policies. The literature has also identified several challenges that are associated with policy formulation in African countries while acknowledging opportunities such as development of model ICT policies at regional level for use in member countries (Maitland & van Gorp, 2009). Notable challenges that have been exposed by the review are infrastructure, lack of skills, and socio-economic issues. The claim that country context does not have an effect on formulation or implementation of a national ICT policy (Myers & Tan, 2002), therefore, requires further examination.

Past research on national ICT policies in developing countries have mostly discussed the interaction of the actors without considering the actors' beliefs, values, conduct, or perceptions.

2.14.3 Assessing effects of influences

Research has attempted to identify the effects of influence of external actors on policy formulation (Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013). Some of the studies used the policy network analysis (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013) to analyse the interaction of actors within a policy network. The complexity of the relationships between the policy network and

policy outcomes has been recorded (Marsh & Smith, 2000). The review suggests that it was not the intention of the scholars (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula (2013) to analyse the resulting policy outcomes in their work. Birkland (2015, p.229) defines a policy outcome as “the substantive results of the implementation of a policy”. However, earlier research mainly focused on the formulation stage (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013). An appropriate theory is thus required to analyse that relationship.

Previous work on influences of external actors on ICT policy formulation at regional and national levels has benefited from neo-Gramscian theory and Habermas Theory of Communicative Action (TCA) respectively. The neo-Gramscian theory is used to analyse the relationship between power and ideas and examine how major actors determine policies. On the other hand, Habermas’ TCA promotes free participation in communication through an ideal speech situation, which is constantly threatened in policy networks. TCA assumes that ideas of actors are equally assessed and that the best ones will win. The theory also assumes that quality outcomes result from a spirited and patient public (Habermas, 1987). Theories about the role and influence of external actors on national ICT policy are stated in general terms. For example, the proposition that “actors with material power are in a better position to shape ideas and discourses that have a bearing on a policy process” (Chiumbu, 2008) should be derived from theoretical point of view.

The goal in this study is to explore the gaps between the consequences of the influence of external actors within a policy network and the policy outcomes. These gaps in the literature drive this study to answer the following primary question: *How does the influence of external actors affect formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries?* This goal is consistent with a call for more *critical research* that considers political dimensions of policy reform and economic regulation (Gillwald, 2010). Supporting questions that will assist in addressing the main goal of the research are:

- i. How do external and local actors engage with each other in a developing country during policy formulation?
- ii. What categories of influence of external actors have an effect on national ICT policy formulation in developing countries?
- iii. How does country context affect the way external actors influence the policy formulation of a developing country?

While scholars have revealed influences of the external actors on national ICT policies, their focus has not been on the consequences or effects of the influences. This review considers the effects of influences of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in developing countries by asking: how does the influence of external actors affect formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries?

Scholars have attempted to identify the effects of influence of external actors on policy formulation (Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005, Metfula, 2013). For example, Metfula (2013) found that the views of the local actors were ignored by external actors during the formulation of the national ICT policy in Eswatini. Furthermore, the study reveals that “Some policy actors felt that the behind-the-scenes workings of UNECA resulted not only to the adoption of cut and dry policy pillars adapted from other countries, but also to the urgency and the time-lines to deliver the policy” (Metfula, 2013, p. 152). The review has uncovered a dislike of the external actors’ behaviour during the formulation of the national ICT policy in Eswatini. The review seems to suggest that foreign influence is negative as it leads the countries to create policies which are not compatible with local context. Besides the literature suggests that external influence limits local participation in the policy-making processes. On the other hand, the literature appears to suggest that the African countries, at the same time, lack the capacity to formulate policies without the foreign assistance. This suggests future research agenda.

2.14.4 Country context

Past work on country context shows contradictory findings in the literature. One school of thought suggests that policy should be linked to country context (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Kendall et al., 2006) while the other posits that there is no link between policy-making and country context (Myers & Tan, 2002). While past studies have suggested linking formulation of a policy with a country context (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Kendall et al., 2006; Njihia & Merali, 2013), not much has been done to follow up this recommendation. Future research may consider empirical studies on the relationship between country context and formulation of a national ICT policy by asking that: *how does the context of a developing country (economic, social, environmental, political) cause unintended policy outcomes during formulation of a national ICT policy?*

2.14.5 Theoretical underpinning

On theoretical framework, the literature review has revealed that Chiumbu (2008) and Metfula (2013) used the policy network analysis to analyse the interaction of actors within a policy

network. The complexity of the relationships between the policy network and policy outcomes has been recorded, one of which is between the network and policy outcomes (Marsh & Smith, 2000). This appears to suggest that it was not the intention of the scholars (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula (2013) to analyse the effects of the influence of external actors on the resulting policy in their work. One major limitation of PNA is that it may be used to analyse policy processes but it is vague on explaining how behaviours and roles of actors affect the policy process (Rhodes, 1997). This study is aimed at analysing effects of the influence of external actors, which focus on the relationship between external influence in terms of roles and behaviour and policy formulation. An appropriate theory is thus required to analyse that relationship.

The literature review has revealed some gaps. It appears that few studies sought to analyse the effects or consequences of the influence of external actors on policy formulation in relation to country context. Literature suggests that policy-making is affected by a number of factors, which include actor's resources, position and behaviour in a policy network, operating environment of the actors and composition of the policy network. This study will explore the external actors as part of the policy network. The literature review reveals that the studies have not yet provided a theoretical explanation on the relationship between effects of influence of external actors during formulation of a national ICT policy and policy outcomes. Most studies on ICT policy-making in Africa have been conducted in the context of solving ICT- related problems in which issues of ICT policy are addressed according to the existing global ICT governance (Chiumbu, 2008). Future research may thus explore this relationship by answering the question: *how does the influence of external actors during formulation of a national ICT policy affect outcomes of the policy?*

2.15 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature related to the influences of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in Africa. This has been done by identifying the influences of the actors in cases of the AISI, Eswatini policy formulation and through other articles. These influences have come in different forms such as the NICI framework, financing the policy process and providing experts to help with drafting the policy. However, the effects of the influences remain unknown. Thus, there is need to take the discussion about the effects of external actors further and enhance the understanding of the domination. The literature review has also revealed that few studies sought to analyse the effects or consequences of the influence of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in relation to country context. Literature suggests that policy-

making is affected by a number of factors, such as actor's resources, position and behaviour in a policy network, operating environment of the actors and composition of the policy network, among others.

Past work on country context shows contradictory findings in the literature. For example, some scholars argue that there is no connection between a country's culture and initiatives in implementation of ICT policy (Myers & Tan, 2002, p. 13) while others have suggested linking formulation of a policy with a country context (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Njihia & Merali, 2013). Identifying the relationship between the effects of the influence of external actors and resulting policy outcomes at country context level would provide a better understanding of the shaping of the influences. The review has revealed that while the influences have been explored in past research, the consequences of the influences remain unknown. This study will explore the effects of the influence of external actors on the formulation of a national ICT policy in a developing country context.

The next chapter discusses the theoretical underpinning for the study.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has highlighted influences of external actors during the formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries. The review has revealed forms of influence, which include development of the NICI framework, provision of financial support, provision of technical support, setting of standards during the formulation of national ICT policies and setting of events such as the WSIS conference. Furthermore, the review has identified factors affecting policy formulation such as: behaviour of actors, participation of actors, policy ideas from actors, policy-making context and actor resources.

The review also exposed some challenges facing developing countries as including poor ICT infrastructure, security and privacy issues, low level of internet penetration, "lack of allocated budget for ICT initiatives", "limited IT skills and training culture", and "lack of citizen awareness and participation" (Nkwe, 2012, p.46). This study seeks to analyse the consequences of the influence of external actors on the resulting national ICT policy in a developing country context. To achieve this objective, the relationships between context, national ICT policy and influences of actors are examined (see Figure 3.2).

Evidence shows that external actors mostly influence policy-making (a practice) in developing countries through initiatives such as imposing policy options for the countries (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Gillwald, 2010; Metfula, 2013). Policy-making is described as a social practice in which actors negotiate meanings and interests of actions (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009). External actors' domination on policy formulation seems to suggest that the *influencing or domination* is a practice. *Practice* is used to distinguish "the abstract from the real (as in theory versus practice)" (Schultze & Boland Jr, 2000, p.194). Examples of other practices may include the behaviour of actors in meeting or provision of financial resources to an actor during formulation of a national ICT policy (Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013). In this study, *practice* is defined as the action or a set of actions actors take or follow during policy formulation.

Although policy-making is a participatory activity in an ideal situation (Birkland, 2015; Howlett et al., 2009), evidence suggests that most national ICT policies in developing countries are largely dominated by external actors with little or no involvement from local actors (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013). Despite this revelation, there is little

evidence about the effects of the influence or domination of external actors on national ICT policy formulation. This study takes a participatory perspective to public policy in which the concepts of “symbolic struggle and objectification” are significant (Contandriopoulos, 2004, p.322). First, a *symbolic struggle* is a “process by which agents or institutions - consciously or not - try to impose upon other agents, their vision of the world, as well as the categories they use to understand it. The power relations implicit in those operations are generally hidden from the participants, a process which contributes, in turn, to the social efficacy of these perspectives” (Contandriopoulos, 2004, p.322). Second, *objectification* refers to the creation of a perception that a policy participating agent (actor) acts in the public interest and not for themselves (Contandriopoulos, 2004). In the context of the quotation on symbolic struggle, the domination of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in developing countries appears to suggest that issues of power in social relations (networks), where symbolic struggle and objectification seem to be significant, are central.

The term *influence* has been taken to be synonymous with *power*. For example, Dahl (1957) posited that *influence* is synonymous with *power* and *control*. Likewise, Harrison (2011, p.4) observes that *power* “is exercised over individuals and groups by offering them things they value or by threatening to deprive them of those things. These values are the base of power, and they can include physical safety, health, and well-being; wealth and material possessions; jobs and means to a livelihood; knowledge and skills; social recognition, status, and prestige; love, affection, and acceptance by others; and a satisfactory self-image and self-respect”. The concept of power is not only significant to understanding and explaining policy practices but it is also fundamentally linked to the dimension of resources (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004). Power is seen as “the ability of actors to mobilise resources in order to achieve certain outcomes in social relations and also as a dispositional and a structural phenomenon of social and political systems” (Arts & Van Tatenhove, 2004, p.343). This seems to suggest that using resources (capital) within the policy-making field (national ICT policy), an actor may influence an action.

In this regard, this chapter is organised as follows. First, it briefly discusses theoretical frameworks that scholars have used to study public policy processes. Second, it describes Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice as the lens that will be used to illuminate this study. Third, the chapter provides a mapping of how relevant concepts from the Theory of Practice will be used to explain the effects of influence of external actors on the resulting national ICT policy. The last section summarises the chapter.

3.2 Reviewed Theoretical Frameworks

Research on public policy has used Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), Actor-Network Theory (ANT), Policy Network Analysis (PNA) and Bourdieu's ToP to analyse public policy processes in different contexts. For example, scholars have used ACF in public policy studies to understand policy processes such as policy change (Kubler, 2001; Sabatier, 1988; Weible, 2007). Other studies have adopted PNA to analyse the interaction of policy actors in policy networks (Chiumbu, 2008; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000; Metfula, 2013). Yet others have used ANT to understand public policy processes including the interaction of network actors during policy-making (Rutland & Aylett, 2008). This shows that there are many theories that can be used to study power relations and how the power relations affect policy formulation. Different studies have adopted Theory of Practice (ToP) to analyse policy processes. See Table 3.3.

This section provides an outline of theoretical frameworks that are reviewed as possible lens for the study of the effects of influence of external actors during the development of a public ICT policy in a developing country context. They include Bourdieu's ToP, ANT and PNA as in Table 3.1.

3.2.1 *Bourdieu's Theory of Practice*

Bourdieu's ToP offers a multi-layered view to theory in which agents are conceptualised or theorised as “producers of social practices” in a social environment as they follow specific practices (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011, p.22). Interactions of the agents within the social world are explained through the concepts of (i) field, (ii) habitus, (iii) capital and (iv) practice (Bourdieu, 1986). ToP is mainly concerned with domination and relative strength of agents within society, which Bourdieu understood as primarily being prompted by unequal allocation of resources (Bourdieu, 1977; Walther, 2013). Through his theory, Bourdieu argues that interactions between people, an event or social phenomenon can be understood or explained by examining the social space in which “interactions, transactions and events occurred”, and domination is the result of accumulation of different capitals Bourdieu (as cited in Grenfell, 2008, p.67).

ToP has been applied to different studies in such *fields* as education, art, science, language, religion through the relationships of culture, power, and stratification (DiMaggio, 1979). Bourdieu (as cited in DiMaggio, 1979, p. 1461) claims that “these relationships are the basics to all social organisation” such as those in policy formulation. The concepts of field, habitus

and capital are interdependent and “social agents using different strategies to maintain or improve their position” in the field (Grenfell, 2008, p.69).

3.2.2 Actor-Network Theory

ANT is used to explore the way networks of relationships are created and maintained, how they arise and continue to exist, how the networks compete with each other and how they are made to become stronger or weaker over time (Tatnall & Davey, 2005). ANT stipulates that the world contains a combination of both human and non-human actors (Latour, 2005). “ANT deals with the social-technical divide by denying that purely technical or purely social relations are possible”, and considers the world to be full of hybrid entities “containing both human and non-human elements” Latour (as cited in Tatnall & Davey, 2005, p.957). ANT is concerned with examining the mechanics of power that occur when *human* and *non-human* actors come together to form and possibly maintain networks of relations. These diverse networks may contain people, organisations, agents and others (Law, 1999). Entities become strong and credible through mobilising and recruiting masses of silent actors (Callon, 1986). Consequently, ANT examines how actors recruit others into their social space and how the actors’ qualities and motivations are conferred on the recruited actors (Latour, 2005).

Scholars contend that ANT “can be useful for studies of IS in situations where interactions of the social, technological and political are regarded as particularly important” (Tatnall & Gilding, 1999, p.963). ANT mainly offers an understanding of how “collective priorities emerge as different actants learn how to move toward their goals by working together, and also suggests how subjects and objects are reshaped by their enrollment in such configurations” (Rutland & Aylett, 2008, p.627). In other words, *there is no single actor with dominating ideas in ANT*, which is contrary to the objectives of this study. The scholars use *actants* to mean individual, group or non-human actors such as conferences.

3.2.3 Policy Network Analysis

Policy Network Analysis (PNA) is used to examine processes, structures, outcomes and relations between actors during the policy process in which policy formulation is a part (Adshead, 2002). Scholars contend that the policy process and policy outcomes are affected by a variety of issues, which include the position, skills and resources of an actor in a society; the policy-making team as a whole (network structure); external factors (exogenous factors); and actual interactions of the actors (Moran et al., 2006). Although PNA is used to analyse

processes, actors and their interactions, it does not show how the interactions can be analysed (Rhodes, 1997). PNA focuses on the relationships among actors in society and it is used to understand the link between policy formulation and policy outcomes (Moran et al., 2006).

Table 3.1: Focus of theoretical frameworks

Theory	Examples of application arenas
Bourdieu's theory of practice	Education, social studies, environment, entrepreneurship, health, information systems
Actor-network theory	Policy, information systems
Policy network analysis	Public policy

3.3 Appropriateness of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice in the Study

3.3.1 Network theories

Network theories are useful in “three dialectical relationships between structure and agency; network and context; and network and outcome” (Marsh & Smith, 2000, p. 5). The analysis of these interactive relationships does not seem to be appropriate for this study, which seeks to analyse the effects of influence of external actors on public policy formulation. The study focuses on the *consequences* or *effects* of the influence of external actors during policy formulation other than the network of actors and context or outcomes. The network theories, in this case, therefore do not appear to be suitable lens for this study.

3.3.2 Bourdieu's framework

Bourdieu's framework mainly focuses on domination and relative strength of agents (actors) within society, which Bourdieu understood as primarily being prompted by unequal allocation of resources (Bourdieu, 1977; Walther, 2013). For example, in a study on higher education, and its role in the reproduction of class relations, Bourdieu was concerned with class struggle especially “conflicts within the dominant class-between sectors rich in, respectively, economic and cultural capital” (DiMaggio, 1979, p.1465). The formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries especially Africa was largely dominated (influenced) by external actors (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013), which is directly linked to the focus of this study.

Most studies using the field theory have benefited from Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, habitus and practice (see Table 3.3). Mutch (2006) explicates that the theory is descriptive and not prescriptive, and thus allowing multiple processes and complex interplays to be described. This means that the theory can be adapted to different contexts to explain what is happening internally (within the context) and externally (outside of the field). This study, too, will use the

concepts of field (national ICT formulation field), capital (resources that actors bring to the field), habitus (actors' dispositions) and practice (such as paying of allowances to policy network members) to interrogate the effects of influence of external actors on policy formulation. Furthermore, the usefulness and flexibility of Bourdieu's framework in different kinds of research studies is quite attractive. For example, it has been applied in policy research in a number of instances such as entrepreneurial studies, education, health, and journalism (for example, De Clercq & Voronov, 2009; Levina & Vaast, 2005; Schultz, 2007), thus providing a good starting point for this study. It thus seems appropriate to use the theory of practice to illuminate the effects of the influences (domination) on policy formulation.

3.4 Theoretical Underpinning – Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

Born in 1930 in France, Pierre Bourdieu became interested in the social, political and cultural practices that surrounded him at the time (Grenfell, 2008). He published a number of articles that include *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977); *Structures, Habits, Practices* (1990) and *The Logic of Practice* (1992). In most of his work, the concepts of field, capital and habitus are often applied.

Bourdieu's theory provides a multi-layered perspective to theory in which individuals are conceptualised or theorised as producers of social practices in a field as they follow specific practices (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014). The concepts of (i) field, (ii) habitus, (iii) capital and (iv) practice are used to explain interactions of agents within the social world (social space) (Bourdieu, 1986). In this theory, agents use their individual *capitals* such as economic, cultural and social in the specific fields and reconciliation of both objectivity and subjectivity of issues in a social group happens through the theory (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014). Bourdieu posits that agents are distributed in the social space based on: the volume of capital they possess, the composition of their capital relative to the other forms of capital particularly economic and cultural and the evolution in time of the volume and composition of capital (Bourdieu, 1987). Moreover, this study seeks to understand the beliefs, values and attitudes of policy actors during the formulation of a public ICT policy, which can be analysed through use of the habitus of the policy actors. An *agent* is defined in the study as an individual, group of persons, organisation or donor who acts (or has the power to act) in a field such as public policy. Bourdieu's theory explicates that one common social space in a field is the field of power (Grenfell, 2008). The concepts in ToP are briefly clarified further in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Bourdieu's Concepts

Concept	Definition	Examples
Field	Domain of activity within which actors engage and compete with one another to achieve their objectives. All fields fall within the field of power.	A battle field, a field of knowledge, national ICT policy formulation, country context, positions held by policy actors
Practice	A process by which the agents can experience the world and their engagement with it as meaningful	Behaviour in a meeting Giving financial resources
Habitus	A set of dispositions that incline agents to act and react in certain ways.	National pride, Cultures, Political background
Capital	A range of resources that can be applied to given activities	<i>Cultural</i> : education, experience, mannerism <i>Economic</i> : material and monetary assets <i>Symbolic</i> : honour, title

The next sections provide an outline of the concepts of field, habitus, capital and practice from Bourdieu's theory.

3.4.1 Field

The concept of *field* refers to a configuration or a network of relations with a specific distribution of power (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014). Field refers to a *social space* such as academic field, medical field or public policy field, which is always a site of struggle and contestation (Collyer, Willis, Franklin, Harley, & Short, 2015). *Social space* is described both as a field of forces and a field of struggles (Bourdieu, 1998) but also as a space of conflict and a space of competition (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu argued that interactions between people or an explanation of an event or social phenomenon can be understood or theorised by examining the social space in which interactions, transactions and events occurred (Bourdieu, 2005). Bourdieu used different analogies for the concept of field. Examples of analogies used include the field on which a game of football is played; the field in science fiction; field of forces in physics (Grenfell, 2008).

Bourdieu's sociology perceives society as multiple social fields in which forms of capital such as economic, cultural and social are the core factors that define positions and possibilities of the various agents in any field (Collyer et al., 2015). Field is also a space of position-takings, a "structured set of the manifestations of the social agents involved in the field ... a field of forces, but it is also a field of struggles tending to transform or conserve this field of forces" (Bourdieu, 1983, p.30). The public policy field, for example, can be explained by the struggles and contestations between the dominant 'position-takings'. Fields are occupied by dominating and dominated agents whose positions are dependent on the type of power that is effective in

a specific field (De Clercq & Voronov, 2009). Bourdieu (as cited in Grenfell, 2008) elucidates that a field may be a structured social space, or a field of forces, or a force field, which contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. “A field ... is a structured system of social positions—occupied either by individuals or institutions— the nature of which defines the situation for their occupants” (Jenkins, 2006, p.53).

Field is defined as:

“... a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.)”. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.97)

Field, divided into social fields (Bourdieu, 1998), has two meanings: first, as a set of actions (*practices*) within a broader social space, which suggests competent action in conformity with rules and roles and second, as a playground or battlefield in which agents, endowed with a certain field-relevant capital, try to advance their position (Bourdieu, 1977). Fields constitute a network of positions but also a playground where agents try to follow individual strategies. Agents compete in the social space according to the rules defined by the field specific capitals (economic, social, culture and symbolic) that are most relevant for holding or extending power within the field, which in turn produces other fields (Bourdieu, 1977). Fields are dynamic and shaped by the social practice of their agents (Bourdieu, 1998). The description of field in this section suggests that activities of dominated and dominating agents take place in a field. This study takes *social field* to mean a set of actions within the national ICT policy-making space. “The fields that make up the field of power are not all on a level playing field: some are dominant and the game in subordinate fields is often dependent on activity in another – what happens in the housing field, for example, is highly dependent on what happens in the state and the financial field.” Bourdieu (as cited in Grenfell, 2008, p.73). In elaborating the concept of field, a scholar clarified that:

“At stake in the field is the accumulation of capitals: they are both the process within, and product of, a field. Bourdieu nominated four forms of capital: economic (money and assets); cultural (e.g. forms of knowledge; taste, aesthetic and cultural preferences;

language, narrative and voice); social (e.g. affiliations and networks; family, religious and cultural heritage) and symbolic (things which stand for all of the other forms of capital and can be "exchanged" in other fields, e.g. credentials)". (Thomson, 2008, p.69)

Agents and their actions with the interest in stakes make up a field (Bigo, 2011). The notion of field is used to explain the composition and functioning of actors in social space across society where social space is made up of different and distinct but often overlapping fields, with different spheres of activity and practice (Chopra, 2003). In summary, a field is an integration of (Warde, 2004, p.13):

- i. "some particular stakes and commitment to the value of those stakes";
- ii. "a structured set of positions";
- iii. "a set of strategic and competitive orientations";
- iv. "a set of agents endowed with resources and dispositions".

A field, which is a bounded social space, consists of determined positions which (Thomson, 2005, p.742):

- i. "are held in relation to others in the field";
- ii. "are differentiated in a hierarchy of power and status";
- iii. "produce in occupants and institutions particular ways of thinking, being and doing".

The concept of field is used to theorise society as a space of relative social positions (Bourdieu, 1998) and expresses the objective elements of social space (Collyer et al., 2015). Actors struggle to maintain or improve their positions against other players in a field. This is achieved through possession of different forms of capital, which include economic, cultural and social capital (Schultze & Boland Jr, 2000).

Briefly, a field has a boundary, a purpose to be achieved within some time frame and players. Bourdieu uses the word player as in a football game. Based on their positions in the game (field), the players can determine what happens to the game. The game itself has some rules (strategies), which have to be followed (used) by the players (Grenfell, 2008). The players use their capital to gain access to and take positions in the field.

3.4.2 *Habitus*

Habitus binds the objective with the subjective social world (Collyer et al., 2015). It is used to explain how people act and think in a social context. Grenfell (2008, p.50) elucidates that *habitus* is a “concept that orients our ways of constructing objects of study, highlighting issues of significance and providing a means of thinking relationally about those issues”. The *habitus* is “both individual and collective” (Bigo, 2011, p. 241). The *habitus* is described in two ways: as an accumulation of expertise from working in a particular field and as a basis for generating strategies that determine agents’ actions in the field (Bourdieu, 1993). The relationship between *habitus* and field, which is the *habitus*, is that:

“A field consists of a set of objective historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital), while *habitus* consists of a set of historical relations ‘deposited’ within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation and action” (Wacquant, 1992, p.16). The field is “a space of conflict and competition” (Wacquant, 1992, p.17) and its construction is possible “only through the human doings of human beings”. (Colley, 2013, p.9)

The concept of *habitus* outlines the subjective elements of the social environment and is a set of actions such as perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking, and acting that predefines all the expressive, verbal, and practical illustrations and expressions of an agent. Consequently, individuals act unconsciously according to their *habitus*, at times making choices including developing strategies in different fields while they gather and deploy forms of capital (Collyer et al., 2015). The *habitus* of each individual is “absolutely unique, specific, and cannot be explained through some deterministic patterns of group theory and their statistical correlations, even if each *habitus* is somewhat shared with others and produces a set of different limited practices” (Bigo, 2011, p 243). *Habitus* is used to analyse the different positions of agents in the social space, and how these serve as different dispositions for social action (Schultz, 2007, p.193). *Habitus* “acts as a symbolic template for an agent's conduct, thoughts, feelings and judgments. To speak of *habitus* is to assert that the individual, and even the personal, the subjective, is social, and collective” (Schultze & Boland Jr, 2000, p.203).

Habitus and field have a circular relationship meaning that involvement in a field shapes the *habitus* and, in turn, the *habitus* shapes the actions that reproduce the field (Crossley, 2001). The action of players (agents) in the field can be understood and explained through information

about the agents' dispositions and competence, which is their habitus and capital, and also "about the state of play in the game as well as the players' individual locations in the field. The actors' logic is shaped both by their habitus and by the requirements and logic of the game as it unfolds" (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011, p.23).

The concept of habitus is explained through some properties such as (Wacquant, 2011, p.85-86):

- i. "a set of beliefs, values and attitudes (dispositions) that individuals possess";
- ii. "sets of dispositions vary by social location and trajectory".

From a research perspective, Rawolle and Lingard (2008) explain that the specific practice or set of practice under examination can give directions to the specific sets of dispositions of interest. For example, these may include a scientific habitus (Bourdieu 2004) or a linguistic habitus (Bourdieu 1991). Following this argumentation, there is potential "to talk about a policy habitus, implying the sets of dispositions that dispose agents to produce practices related to policies" (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008, p.731).

Dispositions are explained as:

"... inclinations towards certain responses, as the tendencies to make one choice over another and to privilege one action over another, that is, the tendencies to regularly engage in certain practices as compared with other practices. Bourdieu's habitus is a system of such dispositions that endure across space and time. An individual may inhabit more than one habitus, and various habituses may overlap to some extent. However, any particular habitus is circumscribed by a group's homogeneity". (Chopra, 2003, p.425)

One habitus is different from another in that "there is a range of practices and dispositions for any particular habitus, which corresponds to what is thinkable within that habitus" (Chopra, 2003, p.426). Bourdieu perceived habitus as "embodied practices, for example, 'a durable way of standing, speaking, walking, and thereby of feeling and thinking'" (Lingard, Sellar, & Baroutsis, 2015, p.31). Habitus "generates perceptions, aspirations, and practices that correspond to the structuring properties of earlier socialization" (Swartz, 1997, p. 103) and a "well-constituted habitus" means that the dispositions of actors "align well with the expectations and exigencies" of a field" (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014, p.209).

3.4.3 Capital

Capital refers to the different forms of resources that actors bring to the field where social interactions take place (Collyer, Willis, Franklin, Harley, & Short, 2015). The resources “may be used consciously or unconsciously, and can take an economic, cultural or social form” (Collyer et al., 2015, p.690). Capital is also defined as “possessions, or qualities of a person or a position exchangeable for goods, services, or esteem” (DiMaggio, 1979, p.1463). Capital is considered as the main *medium* of field operations (Grenfell, 2008) and is linked to the objective structures of the field. Through their habitus, agents understand the importance of capital in the field (Jackson, 2008). Bourdieu classifies capital into four basic forms as: (i) economic, (ii) social, (iii) cultural and (iv) symbolic (Bourdieu, 1986).

Economic capital is described as a general form, anonymous, all-purpose convertible money between generations and can be more easily and efficiently converted into cultural, social, and symbolic capital than the other way round (Bourdieu, 1986). Economic capital primarily constitutes material resources, for instance income or property, and Bourdieu argues that economic capital is the basis of all the other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The conversion modes and mechanisms of economic capital into social capital vary from society to society (Chopra, 2003).

Social capital refers to the resources linked to the “possession of a durable network of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.248). It involves relationships of *shared recognition* and *association* including resources based on *social connections* and *group or class membership*. Social capital consists of two components: the first, as a *resource* within groups but also in connected in a social network and second, is that social capital is “based on mutual cognition and recognition” Bourdieu (as cited in Siisiäinen, 2000). This form of capital also involves “the cultural competencies individuals develop through socialisation and learn over time” (Schultz, 2007, p.194). Bourdieu uses social capital as a concept for understanding how relationships of difference, power and domination are created and sustained, and the behaviour of social actors within these sets of relationships (Bourdieu, 2013).

Cultural capital appears in three categories as: (i) skills; (ii) “cultural products like books, paintings, machines” (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011, p.22); and as (iii) institutionalised properties such as academic degrees or titles (Bourdieu, 2005). Skills are incorporated in the habitus; and are largely created through birth. Cultural products are objectivised in cultural

products such as books, paintings and machines while cultural capital is institutionalised in cultural institutions, which may be in a form of examinations or certificates.

Symbolic capital takes different forms the moment it is perceived and recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1987). Symbolic capital may be “understood as manifest in rituals of recognition and the accumulation of prestige” (Jackson, 2008, p. 168), but also as some form of tacit power such as honour, prestige, pride or the right to be heard, that an agent holds (Bourdieu, 1993).

The different forms of capital (economic, social, cultural and symbolic) are central to providing insights into the distribution of actors in the social space. This seems to suggest that the different forms of capital, for example, can be used to explore the way different actors are distributed in the policy-making field. Economic and cultural capital are the most dominant forms of capital and are different from one field to the next (Bourdieu, 1998). Bourdieu posits that the different forms of capital can be used to define positions and possibilities of the various actors in any given field and the profile of each field depends on the comparable importance within it of each of the forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1998). For example, economic capital may be transformed into other forms of capital such as educational capital and, in turn, into social capital (Chopra, 2003). It is only when capital is activated, employed and engaged with, that an individual or group may produce a hierarchical and unequal society with marked inequalities (Collyer et al., 2015).

3.4.4 Practice

Practice, the singular form, is described as “coordinated entities which require performance for their existence” (Warde, 2004, p.17). Practice is defined as “those embodied activities and competencies that are ‘learned’ and carried out by individuals in a social space. But this learning is not of the order of something that is consciously incorporated by an individual into their repertoire of responses, actions or reactions; neither, for that matter does this learning operate as an unconscious motivational basis for all practices” (Chopra, 2003, p.425). *Practice* merely describes the whole of human action (Warde, 2004) as opposed to theory. In the theory of social practices, however, *practice* “is a routinised type of behaviour which consists of several elements (interconnected to one another), forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Warde, 2004, p. 17). Schatzki (as cited in Warde, 2004, p.17) argues that “a performance presupposes a practice, and practice presupposes performances”.

Practices, the plural form, are described as behaviour of actors that is repeated and patterned (Schultze & Boland Jr, 2000). For example, “meal customs, marriage strategies, visiting art museums or conducting scientific research” are some practices in everyday lives (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008, p.730). It is proposed that these practices would be more appropriate if they were acquired as a result of being incorporated, adapted and shaped in a specific type of context and through the learned practices, individuals may “negotiate interactions with other individuals” in the social space (Chopra, 2003, p.425).

The term *practice* has been used to mean three interconnected associations as (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008, p.730):

- i. “performing an activity such as conducting a policy review”;
- ii. the “nominalisation of a process, or the formal naming of an activity that gives it social organisation, points of harmonisation and boundaries, such as the naming and instituting of specific policy reviews”;
- iii. “differentiated from theories about practice, and is circumscribed by shorter cycles of time that give it structure, limits and meaning”.

An established practice refers to a “collective and historic achievement” that groups of specialists engaged in that practice develop over time (Warde, 2004, p.18). Institutions tend to impart an integrated practice to novices with the aim of improving the performance of novices and promoting and legitimatising the practice. For example, accounting practice is imparted to individuals but the teaching of the practice to novices is done through accounting bodies or institutions. Power is central to understanding practices. For example, Arts and Van Tatenhove (2004) elucidate that the concept of power is fundamentally important to understand and explain policy practices. It is postulated that practices become “collective properties based on shared understandings, know-how and standards” through nurturing and protection (Warde, 2004, p.18).

Practice in German has two meanings. Practice (Germany *Praxis*) represents “merely an emphatic term to describe the whole of human action (in contrast to theory and mere thinking)” and practice (*Praktik*) is a type of routine behaviour consisting of several interconnected elements such as: “forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002, p.249).

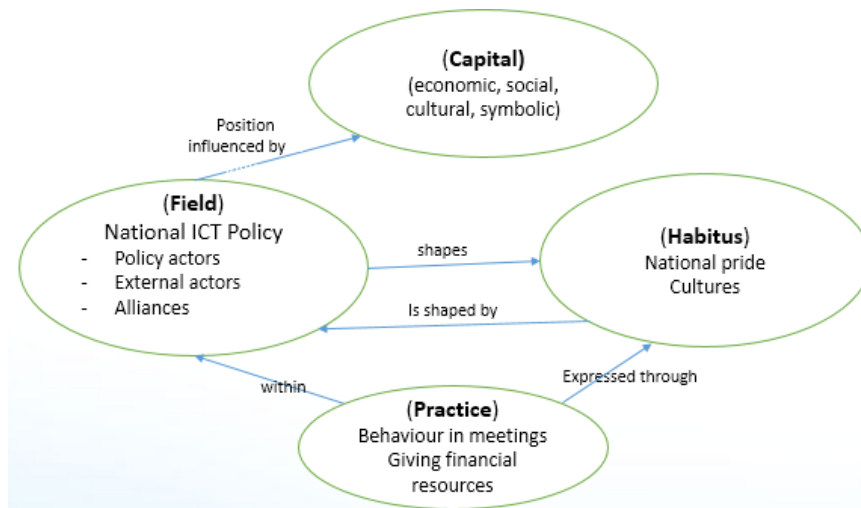


Figure 3.1: Illustration of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice: (Schultze & Boland Jr, 2000)

A strength of Bourdieu's concept is the interplay between field, habitus and the different forms of capital at various levels (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011; Schultze & Boland Jr, 2000). For example, *habitus* is linked to *field* through a circular relationship while at the same time *habitus* is connected with the context. Forms of capital, "while linked to the individual, only become symbolic capital and, hence, relevant through recognition in the respective field(s)" (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011, p.24). The interaction between habitus and field is evident in the practices of actors, which are the actors' repeated and patterned behaviours (Schultze & Boland Jr, 2000). The practices that emerge from the interplay between habitus and field in a given context tend to reproduce the field, resulting in the habitus and practices interacting (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). "Practices emerge at the confluence of dispositions (ingrained and mostly inarticulate proclivities and tendencies accumulated through personal exposure and collective history) and positions in the field (defined by the distribution of valued resources inside a social game)" (Pouliot, 2013, p.47). Habitus and practice are linked because through the habitus, actors are inclined to act in some way meaning that habitus becomes a basis for practice. "People's practices or actions – their behavioral repertoire – are the consequences of their habitus and cultural capital interacting within the context of a given field" (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014, p.195).

3.5 Policy Research using Theory of Practice

Bourdieu's ToP has been used in past policy research in different fields of study. Most of the studies, however, have been in education. Some examples of research studies adopting Bourdieu's theory are summarised in the sections that follow.

3.5.1 Health field

A health-care study in the context of policy used the interplay of the concepts of field, habitus and capital in structuring health-care choices. It suggested a need for more focus on the health-care field including “its institutions and organisations, its payment systems, gaps in services and barriers to access” and also “the way patient choices within the system are shaped by the decisions and practices” of the health-care “providers, managers, administrators, policy-makers and significant others in the institutions and organisations of both private and public health-care” (Collyer et al., 2015, p.693).

3.5.2 Education field

Research on policy-making on *school leadership and education in England* applied the concepts of field and habitus to examine knowledge production, specifically “the types of knowledge used in policy-making, the methodologies and claims to the truth being made”, and the actors “involved in developing policy” (Gunter & Forrester, 2009, p.495). Other scholars theorised and researched the global education policy processes and concluded that Bourdieu’s concept of social field can be applied in “extending the policy cycle in education today in the context of globalisation” (Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2005, p.774). Drawing on Bourdieu’s habitus, research suggested that a shared habitus of global and national actors reflects and contributes to the creation of a global education policy field (Lingard et al., 2015). Through the concept of field, another study utilised Bourdieu’s relational sociology and autonomy in understanding the “relative autonomy of higher education in its external relations with economic, social and political interests” (Maton, 2005, p.701). The Bourdieuan approach was also applied to show policy working as a discrete field with its own specific practice (Thomson, 2005). Using Bourdieu’s ToP in analysing the process of developing a new social studies curriculum for the compulsory schooling sector in New Zealand, research revealed effects of external forces on the field of curriculum development. Through historical research and document analysis supplemented with semi-structured interviews of various local actors during the process, the study exposed themes related to context, complexity, and contestation in the curriculum development field (Mutch, 2006). Document analysis is an appropriate research method in qualitative case studies particularly the studies that aim at producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organisation, or program (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Likewise, this study aims at producing a description of consequences of influence of external actors (a single phenomenon) in the formulation of a national ICT policy in Malawi.

3.5.3 Social Sciences field

Scholars used Bourdieu's ToP on the distinction between formal and informal policy and argued that when unauthorised (informal) policy actors develop policy, they are effectively making new policy in situated settings and communities of practice (Levinson et al., 2009).

Although various studies have drawn on Bourdieu's framework in the policy field, there is still a dearth of studies that have been conducted on formulation of a public policy in the context of a developing country using the framework. It seems fitting to suggest a theoretical perspective about the relationship between context, national ICT policy and influence of actors. This study extends usage of the framework to analyse the effects of influence of external actors on national ICT policy in a developing country context. Table 3.3 presents a summary of policy studies that have adopted Bourdieu's ToP as a theoretical lens.

Table 3.3: A summary of studies that have used Bourdieu's ToP

Author(s)/Year	Research approach	Research title
Collyer, Willis, Franklin, Harley, & Short, 2015	Case study	Healthcare choice: Bourdieu's capital, habitus and field
Gunter & Forrester, 2009	Action research	School leadership and education policy-making in England
Levina, 2005	Ethnographic methods	Collaborating on Multiparty Information Systems Development Projects: A Collective Reflection-in-Action View
Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009	Ethnographic methods	Education Policy as a Practice of Power: Theoretical Tools, Ethnographic Methods, Democratic Options
Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2005	Case study	Globalizing policy sociology in education: working with Bourdieu
Lingard, Sellar, & Baroutsis, 2015	Case study	Researching the habitus of global policy actors in education
Maton, 2005	Case study	A question of autonomy: Bourdieu's field approach and higher education policy
Mutch, 2006	Historical records	Adapting Bourdieu's Field Theory to Explain Decision-Making Processes in Educational Policy
Thomson, 2005	Case study	Bringing Bourdieu to policy sociology: codification, misrecognition and exchange value in the United Kingdom (UK) context

3.6 Operationalising Bourdieu's Key Concepts in the study

This study analyses the effects of influence of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in the context of a developing country. To achieve this objective, the study illuminates the interplay between *country context*, *national ICT policy* and *influence of actors* (see Figure 3.2). The study analyses the national ICT policy field in which issues of power

relations and domination emerge because literature has exposed that external actors largely dominate formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries yet the effects of the domination remain unknown (Kunyenje & Chigona, 2017). Schultz (2007, p.192) observes that “fields are always empirical questions” and thus the existence of a national ICT policy-making field “cannot be answered without empirical investigations”.

The different concepts in ToP allow the researcher to detail the context in which the action is taking place in addition to setting boundaries around the place of action (field); explaining who gets to play, why, and how (capital); describing and analysing the strategies of the players in each particular context (habitus) (Mutch, 2006).

On methodology and method, the theoretical framework allows use of a variety of methods, “starting from thick descriptions, to intimate interviews and observations, to multi-dimensional exploratory analyses of large-scale survey data-sets emphasises the relational aspect of reality” (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011, p.29). These authors also argue that the ToP is more inclined towards interpretative approaches such as content or hermeneutical analyses. Wacquant (2014, p.5) uses habitus as “both ‘method of inquiry’ and ‘empirical object’”. The scholar observes that habitus as a theory of action never leads into some practices but rather: “... it takes the *conjunction of disposition and position*, subjective capacity and objective possibility, habitus and social space (or field) to produce a given conduct or expression” (Wacquant, 2014, p.5).

Evidence suggests that most African countries developed national ICT policies based on a the NICI framework. This is a blueprint, which was a prescription to policy-making by external actors such as UNECA and the World Bank (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Dzidonu, 2002; Etta & Elder, 2005). Evidence further suggests that most ICT projects in Africa show poor outcomes due largely to teams not considering the context of a country during implementation of the projects (Heeks, 2006). Research attributes the poor ICT policy outcomes in Africa to the dearth of critical research that acknowledges the context of a country as central to policy-making (Gillwald, 2010).

Studies show contradictions regarding country context on policy-making. Some studies suggest that policy formulation should be linked to country context (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Kendall et al., 2006) while other studies argue that there is no link between policy-making and country context (Myers & Tan, 2002). However, there is a dearth of studies that have investigated the

effect of influence of external actors on national ICT policy formulation in developing countries (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013; Etta & Elder, 2005).

Studies that have adopted Bourdieu's ToP as a framework to understand policy practice elucidate that agents (actors) engage in activities (practice) within social spaces (fields) in which overlapping fields of practice are observed (Levina & Vaast, 2005; Thomson, 2005). Bourdieu likened field to a game and suggested that "what is at stake and used to play the game" in the field are different forms of capital such as "economic (money and assets), social (affiliations and networks, family) and cultural (forms of knowledge, taste)" (Thomson, 2005, p.742).

The national ICT policy field, which is the focus of the study, is sub-divided into agenda setting field, policy formulation field and policy implementation field within the country context field. Bourdieu's conceptual framework suggests that field may have nested fields or be divided into sub-fields (Iellatchitch, Mayrhofer, & Meyer, 2003). The national ICT policy field tends to overlap with fields of agenda setting and policy implementation because of the interplay between the different stages in the policy model (Dye, 2013). The study explores effects of influence of external actors in agenda setting, policy formulation and policy implementation stages as overlapping fields. *Effects*, which is synonymous with *consequences*, is directly related to outcomes. Policy outcomes are about consequences, which may have positive and/or negative impacts but it is also suggested that different policy actors in a policy process may have different views about policy outcomes (Thissen & Walker, 2013). The previous chapter revealed that behaviour and ideas of actors can influence policy outcomes. And through the relationship between concepts of field and habitus, the study explores the views of the actors and analyse the actors' behaviour during the policy process in the study context.

Bourdieu suggested three steps for investigating a given field as (Thomson, 2008, p.75):

- i. "analysing the positions of the field vis-a-vis the field of power";
- ii. "mapping out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the social agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate forms of specific authority of which this field is a site"; and
- iii. "analysing the habitus of social agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a determinate type of social and economic condition,

and which find in a definite trajectory within the field . . . a more or less favourable opportunity to become actualized”.

Furthermore, three ways of researching the *habitus* are suggested. “The first is ‘synchronic and inductive’, requiring the mapping of ‘preferences, expressions, and social strategies’ across various activities and fields. The second is ‘diachronic and deductive’, focusing on dispositions over time. The third approach is ‘experimental’ and demands a concentration on the ‘focused pedagogical programmes’ that seek to constitute a ‘specific habitus’ by submitting to these programmes” Wacquant (as cited in Lingard et al., 2015, p.31). Bourdieu’s concepts of field, habitus, capital and practice will be used to understand the work of external actors in enabling the national ICT policy field and suggests that habitus may be used both as a concept and a methodological tool (Wacquant, 2011). The relational aspects of the concepts of field, habitus, capital and practice are noted in literature. For instance, “habitus is a dispositional theory of practice, suggesting an important relationality between habitus and field; alignments between habitus and field see the practices of agents as manifesting a ‘feel for the game’ and an intimate understanding of the logic of practice of the field” (Lingard et al., 2015, p. 28).

Studying a *social field* involves identification of *practices* attached to the *field* (country context field, national ICT policy formulation field), identifying dominant and dominated agents (actors) through *habitus* (rules of the game) within the field and measuring different forms of *capital* (economic, social or cultural) that are possessed by (actors) agents (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008). Through the concepts of *field* and *practices*, the study analyses the interplay between the national ICT policy field and the practices that result from the interaction of different actors in the policy process. For examples of practices, see Table 3.2.

Bourdieu (1998) describes social space as both fields of forces and fields of struggles. The field of power is situated in the field of forces, shaped by “the structure of the existing balance of forces between forms of power, or between different types of capital. It is also simultaneously a field of struggles for power among the holders of different forms of power. It is a space of play and competition in which social agents and institutions which all possess the determinate quantity of specific capital (economic and cultural capital in particular) sufficient to occupy the dominant positions within their respective fields ... confront one another in strategies aimed at preserving or transforming this balance of forces” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, as cited in Siisiäinen, 2000, p.11).

Bourdieu suggests two modes of domination in a social space as power relations and dominating relationships. Power relations are *institutionalised mechanisms* that the agents in a field unconsciously take account of while dominating relationships are created, dissolved and recreated (Bourdieu, 1993). Analysis of field is illuminated in “terms of three levels – of a field with respect to the field of power, the structure of the field itself, and the habitus of those occupying positions within that field” (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p.7). Habitus and field are related in that involvement in a field shapes the habitus, which, in turn, shapes the actions that reproduce the field (Bourdieu, 1998). The behaviour of agents in the field is explained through information about their dispositions and competence including the agents’ individual locations in the field. The agents’ logic is shaped by both their habitus and the requirements and logic competition (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The actors in the policy-making space come with their respective logics inherited from their different societies (fields).

Blackmore (2010) posits that policy-making is a practice of following the steps that are involved in the production and articulation of the policy. Policies are formulated through “texts, practices, symbols, and discourses that define and deliver values including goods and services as well as regulations, income, status, and other positively or negatively valued attributes” (Birkland, 2015, p.9). The concept of practice through texts (for example, versions of policies, minutes of meetings), practices (for example, paying of allowances during meetings, reliance on external support) will be unveiled during the study to explore the practices of the actors during the different policy stages of interest. For example, the practice of giving allowances during meetings.

This study situates country context as the field (social space) in which agents (policy actors and external actors) interact with their capitals, resources or strategies (such as power and domination) during policy-making. The research will be conducted in a social space in which poverty and illiteracy levels are high among the population and high levels of aid dependency have been noted (Fisher, Miller, & Sidney, 2007; Wroe, 2012). The field of national ICT policy formulation, which is the focus of this study, fits within the country context field. This field has a boundary, which can be defined as the specific action (policy formulation) that has to be achieved in a given time frame and the field has a set of actors (agents). Actors gain access into the social field (national ICT policy formulation) with their capitals and position themselves in the field (Thomson, 2005). The ‘habitus’ of the players determine the rules of playing the

game (formulating the national ICT policy) and communication and interaction (Mutch, 2006). See Figure 3.2.

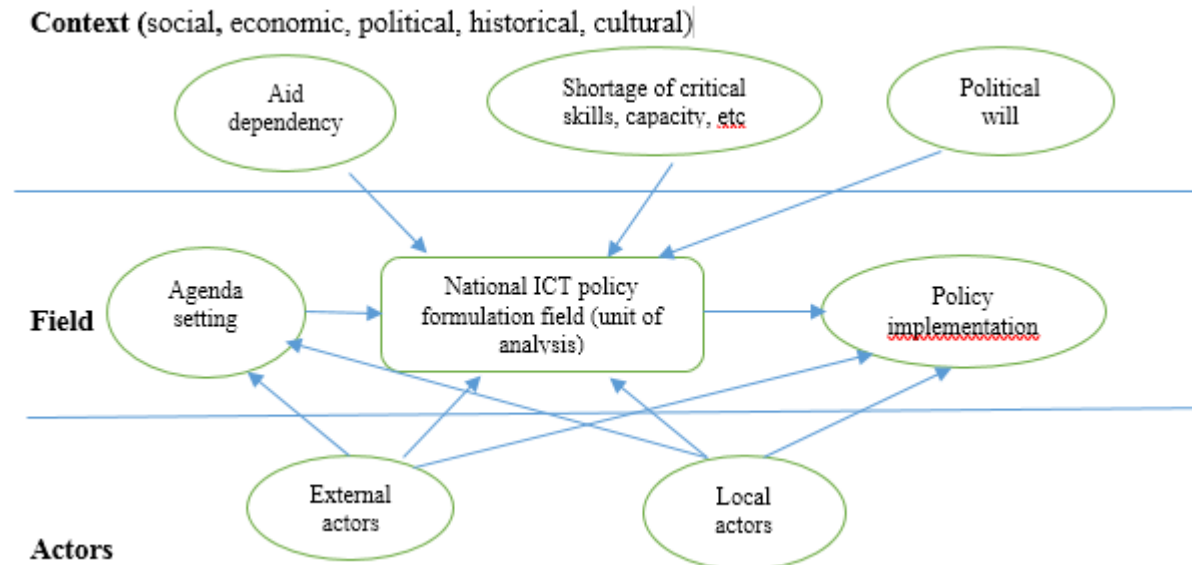


Figure 3.2: Illustration of actors, field and country context (adapted from Mutch, 2006)

Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and practice will be used to explore the effects of influence of external actors by examining power relations and dominating relationships (lines of tension and conflict) among agents within the national ICT policy formulation field. Using Bourdieu's ToP, the relationships between context, national ICT policy and influence of actors will be analysed. To achieve the objective of the study, categories of actors (policy actors and external actors) and their influences will be identified and examined. In addition, the legitimization of actors involved in formulating policy will be assessed. This will be done by examining policy documents, minutes of policy meetings or workshops, interviewing policy actors (researchers, telecommunication providers, civil servants, representatives from the media, donors such as UNDP). Through examining the historical progression of national ICT policies in a developing country context, the study identifies the actors who took part in the first version, second version, etc of the policy. The study also traces how and why the actors were recruited or granted entry into the policy formulation field.

3.7 Criticisms of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

The ToP has been criticised by some researchers such as Grenfell (2008) and Mutch (2006). First, Grenfell (2008, p.78) argues that the field theory does not clearly show "where to draw the line, that is, how to find out where the field effects stop". This is associated with field

boundary. For example, assuming that every organisation in a country has an education programme, where would the field of education end?

The second problem relates to the number of fields. Bourdieu views field as consisting of “four semi-autonomous levels: the field of power, the broad field under consideration, the specific field, and social agents in the field as a field in themselves” (Grenfell, 2008). For example, analysis of policy formulation might mean considering the field of power, the field of public policy, the national ICT policy field, country context as semi-autonomous fields. This implies that in order to analyse the national ICT policy field, a researcher also has to analyse the other fields. However, as a solution to this challenge, Bourdieu himself suggests reducing the number of fields at play by primarily focusing on the discipline specific field (Grenfell, 2008).

Thirdly, there is the problem of change in the field. Bourdieu (as cited in Grenfell, 2008, p. 79) theorised “fields as antagonistic, as sites of struggle. The game that is played in fields has no ultimate winner, it is an unending game, and this always implies the potential for change at any time”. To understand the existing form, Bourdieu stresses analysis of the way the field develops by showing how changes in the field take place over time (Grenfell, 2008; Mutch, 2006).

A forth limitation is that the theoretical framework appears “a little dense and complex at the outset and needs careful explanation”. However, the relational aspects help address the issue of complexity once it has been understood (Mutch, 2006).

3.8 Chapter Summary

Bourdieu’s ToP functions as the lens for the study. The concepts of field, capital, habitus and practice are used to detail the place of action, the actors and their strategies in policy-making processes. There are other theoretical frameworks that are potential candidates for exploring effects of influence of external actors in this research study such as Callon and Latour’s ANT (Callon & Latour, 1991), or Marsh’s policy network analysis framework (Marsh, 1998). Using Bourdieu’s concepts of field, capital, habitus and practice, this study analyses the effects (consequences) of external actors on policy formulation in the case of Malawi. The next chapter discusses the research methodology that is adopted for the study. In addition, the chapter introduces the case for the research.

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed Bourdieu's theory of practice as the theoretical lens for the study. This chapter discusses the research philosophy the study adopts, the research methodology employed and the methods utilised in the course of analysing the effects of influence of external actors during the formulation of a national ICT policy. The research design and ethical issues are also discussed.

The chapter is structured in sections with the first section discussing research philosophy, second section is on research approach, followed by qualitative research method in the third section and then a fourth section on case selection. Research design, thematic analysis and coding, limitations of the methodology, ethical issues and a summary of the chapter are discussed in subsequent sections.

4.2 Research philosophy

All research is based on some underlying philosophical assumptions "about what constitutes valid research and which research methods are appropriate" (Myers & Avison, 2002, p.5). Some researchers suggest four paradigms as "positivism, postpositivism, critical theory and constructivism" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.109). Other researchers mostly propose three philosophical perspectives, which are positivist, interpretive and critical research (Chua, 1986; Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007; Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). The three philosophical assumptions are also most common in IS research (Mingers, 2004; Myers & Klein, 2011). This study followed the classification of the three paradigms adopted in most IS research.

A research philosophy consists of ontology, epistemology and a methodology (Mingers, 2001). In addition to ontology and epistemology, the research philosophy may also embody ethics or axiology, which is about what is valued or considered right (Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007). Ontology is about what is assumed to exist or "beliefs about the nature of reality and humanity" (Tuli, 2010, p.99) while epistemology refers to the nature of valid knowledge (Mingers, 2001). The most dominant ontologies are realism and relativism (Fitzgerald & Howcroft, 1998) while positivism, interpretivism and critical approach are the leading epistemologies (Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007). Realism is a philosophical position that suggests that reality is not dependent on the human mind (Mingers, 2004) while relativism is a "belief that multiple

realities exist as subjective constructions of the mind” (Fitzgerald & Howcroft, 1998, p.319). A researcher’s choice of a paradigm depends on the paradigm’s appropriateness to the research under study (Myers, 1997) specifically the research objectives of a study together with the knowledge of interest of a researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This study adopted subjective ontology, which falls under relativism, because the researcher views reality as a consequence of social interactions among people in their cultural settings (Tuli, 2010). This study utilised a critical research paradigm as the epistemology of choice because it is suited to the research objective, which was to evaluate the historical context in which different versions of national ICT policies were produced and reproduced by policy actors (Walsham, 2005).

The next three sub-sections discuss the epistemological frameworks of positivism, interpretivism and critical approach that are most common in IS research (Mingers, 2004; Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991).

4.2.1 Positivist paradigm

Positivism assumes the objectivity of reality, which can be described through some measured properties (Myers & Avison, 2002). This type of research relies on variables that can be quantifiably measured, tested through hypotheses and in which inferences are drawn based on some phenomenon from a sample population (Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007). In positivism, the researcher claims to be external to the data collection process because it is not easy to change the substance of the data collected (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2012).

Most often positivist research tests theory with the aim of increasing the predictive understanding of phenomena (Myers & Avison, 2002). Research adopting this paradigm is structured in the form of “hypotheses, propositions, models, quantitative variables or statistical inference” of data (Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007, p.846). Positivism, which takes the empiricist view of science, emphasises quantifiable observations that lead to statistical analysis (Saunders et al., 2012). The paradigm describes the social world using law-like generalisations based on a collection of value-free facts (Chen & Hirschheim, 2004), which can be tested through scientific methods (Wynn, 2001). The positivist approach has dominated IS research for a long time (Chen & Hirschheim, 2004; Mingers, 2004). It is argued that “extreme positivism in IS research sees technology as neutral, believes in rational management, ignores power relations and conflict, sees organizations as individual closed entities and focuses on the business environment” (Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007, p.846).

4.2.2 Interpretive paradigm

The interpretive paradigm assumes that reality can only be understood through social constructions such as in language, shared meanings and values, documents, artifacts and tools (Myers & Avison, 2002; Walsham, 2006). Interpretive research can bring deep insights about a phenomenon being studied and that research adopting this assumption enables researchers to understand human thinking and actions in social spaces (Klein & Meyers, 1999). These scholars propose a set of principles for conducting and evaluating interpretive research (see Appendix 13). However, the scholars caution that the principles described in their study are mostly applicable to hermeneutic interpretive research. Others argue that in interpretivism the researcher together with the human actors interpret the situation in the phenomenon under study (Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007) and that the paradigm aims at in-depth understanding of a phenomenon rather than offering generalisations (Chen & Hirschheim, 2004). This paradigm is most appropriate in field research because of the researchers' engagement in the phenomenon of study (Chen & Hirschheim, 2004). Some scholars claim that interpretivism is the most appropriate paradigm for IS interventions (Checkland & Holwell, 1998; Klein & Myers, 1999). Interpretivism embodies the idealist view of (social) science (Mingers, Mutch, & Willcocks, 2013).

Interpretive methods are used to understand the context of IS including the process in which the IS "influences and is influenced by the context" (Walsham, 1993, p.5). The subjective orientation of interpretive research in examining a phenomenon leads to opportunities for more practical and realistic outcomes and multiple interpretations (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1999). Interpretive research seeks to understand and account for the meanings of people's actions and experiences (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002).

4.2.3 Critical research

This research adopted the critical research paradigm as the philosophical stance and is suited to the objective of the study, which sought to examine the issue of power relations or imbalances (a problem or phenomenon) among local and external actors. The research was on the influences (power relations) of external actors during formulation of a national ICT policy and thus critical approach was central to the study of the power relations. Critical research is emancipatory and aims to be explanatory, practical and ethical at the same time (Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2011). The aim of critical theorists is to reveal forms of unwarranted alienation

and domination, and thereby facilitate the “realisation of human needs and potential, critical self-reflection, and associated self-transformation” (Myers & Klein, 2011, p.25). As discussed earlier in Chapter 3, Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice itself a critical theory seeks to deal with issues of domination and relative strength of actors within social space. In a similar way, this study takes into account a social concern or phenomenon. This aim is in conformity with the objective of the study which sought to unveil effects of the domination and power imbalances.

Critical research assumes that “social reality is historically constituted and that it is produced and reproduced by people” (Myers & Avison, 2002, p.7). A critical approach is “a broad philosophical position that focuses on elements such as the social construction of ‘truth’, historical and cultural contingency, and power relations” (Walsham, 2005, p.10). Critical researchers recognise that social, cultural and political domination constrain the researchers’ ability to change the social and economic circumstances (Myers & Avison, 2002), which in turn provide an opportunity for people to realise their potential in deliberately acting to change such conditions (Hirschheim & Klein, 1994). The critical research perspective has become increasingly accepted in IS research (Howcroft & Trauth, 2004). This paradigm focuses on the evaluation and transformation of existing “structures, relationships and conditions” shaping and limiting social practices by examining them within their cultural, social, historical and political contexts to promote “self-reflection, participation, mutual learning and empowerment”, and not just the acceptance of discoveries (Fossey et al., 2002, p.720). The approach embraces a critical process of inquiry which seeks to emancipate social change by exposing inequalities and hidden agendas among agents in social space (Klein & Myers, 1999). Critical research emphasises the origins and the contexts of meanings and how those meanings limit people’s actions, as it advocates that they are socially and historically constructed (Fossey et al., 2002). Critical research seeks to make people comprehend various forms of social domination so that they can take appropriate action to eliminate them (Myers & Tan, 2002).

Critical research is “concerned with social issues such as *power, freedom, social control* and *values* with respect to the development, use, and impact of information technology”; it is appropriate for both IS professionals as it can “enrich their understanding and improve practice” and IS researchers as it may “challenge prevailing assumptions” (Myers & Klein, 2011, p.17). The social issues of critical research mentioned by the different scholars appear to be well suited to the objective of this study, which is to analyse the effects of influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in a developing country. The

previous chapters have elucidated that the term *influence* is synonymous with power (Dahl, 1957) and that power may be a sub-field within a policy-making arena (Bourdieu, 1977).

Research adopting a critical stance follows three steps, which are (i) gaining an insight of the context, (ii) critiquing the context and (iii) offering transformative redefinitions of the context based on what would have transpired in the first two steps (Myers & Klein, 2011). Following this pattern, the researcher first gained an insight into the research context, then critically analysed the policy and its processes and finally made recommendations on how external actors may be managed during policy formulations. A summary of the elements proposed by Myers & Klein (2011) is provided in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Three elements of critical research (Myers & Klein, 2011, p.24)

Element	Purpose
Insight	to provide an overall understanding of the phenomenon of interest
Critique	to expose issues of power imbalances in the current situation
Transformation	to recommend improvements for addressing issues of alienation and domination

The three elements are interconnected in that insight informs critique which in turn leads to transformation (Myers & Klein, 2011). It is suggested that “a critique that reveals the underlying social structure of conditions and helps people see the way to a better world” constitutes a theoretical explanation of social reality (Fossey et al., 2002, p. 719). The elements are directly linked to principles (see Table 4.2) for engaging in critical research (Myers & Klein, 2011). According to the scholars, the first three principles relate directly to the element of critique while the last three principles reflect transformation.

Avgerou (2005, p. 107) illuminates that “theory is a fundamental component of critical research. It distinguishes it from political activism and other forms of engagement with issues of contemporary social concern”. The scholar suggests linking “theoretical concepts that capture adequately the nature of the relationship between ICT and society, such as those of actor network theory or structuration theory”. Additionally, critical researchers are expected to self-understand participants in a study then critically analyse that understanding through use of a particular theoretical lens (Myers & Avison, 2002). This study adopted Bourdieu’s theory of practice as a lens to analyse a social concern. The objective of the study was to analyse effects of influence of external actors (a social concern) during formulation of a national ICT policy by using concepts from Bourdieu’s theory of practice (a critical theory).

Bourdieu's theory has been used in critical research in the past. For example, Bourdieu's theory of practice (theory) has been applied to multiparty IS development projects (social issue). Taking a critical stance to the study, Levina (2005) found that power was conceptualised as both institutional and emerging in IS development projects. Likewise, policy-making is a social issue, which deals with issues of *power* and *social control* (Myers & Klein, 2011). The study of a "substantive social issue in which ICT is implicated ... will need to draw from the literature on the historical development, and strengths and weaknesses of the administration of the particular country or region under empirical investigation" (Avgerou, 2005, p.107). Based on the aim of the study, critical research paradigm was utilised to evaluate the historical context in which different versions of public ICT policies were produced and reproduced by policy actors.

Central to the study were issues of social, cultural and economic capital. Bourdieu (1977) suggests that these issues can be used to interrogate concepts of power and influence, which was the focus of the study. Bourdieu's main research focus revolves around forms of behaviour "that appear to be spontaneous and natural - that are in fact socially conditioned; the power of symbolic systems and their domination over the construction of reality; hidden mechanisms of reproduction of social and cultural practices" (Myers & Klein, 2011, p.22). It is suggested that "a critique that reveals the underlying social structure of conditions and helps people see the way to a better world constitutes an explanation/theory of social reality" (Fossey et al., 2002, p. 719).

Table 4.2: Principles for critical research (Myers & Klein, 2011, p.25)

Category	Principle	Explanation	Example
Critique	Use key concepts from critical social theories	Key concepts and ideas from critical theories inform data collection and analysis	Ngwenyama and Lee (1997) use key concepts from Habermas to critique information richness theory
	Take a value position	Critical theory advocates values such as open democracy and equal opportunity	Adam (2005) looks at how ethics may be more effectively integrated into critical IS research
	Reveal and challenge prevailing beliefs and social practices	Critical research identifies important beliefs and social practices and challenges them with potentially conflicting arguments and evidence	Doolin (2004) uses concepts from Foucault in considering how a medical information system was supposed to help administrators to ensure efficiency and financial viability
Transformation	Individual emancipation	All critical social theory is oriented toward facilitating the realisation of human needs and potential, critical self-reflection, and associated self-transformation	Kanungo (2004) shows how a field laborer in an Indian village was able to receive credit and training using the data available in the local knowledge center to improve her standard of living
	Improvements in society	Most critical theorists assume that social improvements are possible, although to very differing degrees	Kvasny and Keil (2006) make recommendations for improving provision of social services (using IT) to historically disadvantaged groups
	Improvements in social theories	Critical researchers entertain the possibility of competing truth claims arising from alternative theoretical categories, which can guide critical researchers in their analyses and interventions	Habermas modified his ideas in response to debates with Foucault and Gadamer. Conversely, Foucault and Gadamer modified their positions
	Improvements in social theories	All critical theorists believe that theories are fallible and that improvements in social theories are possible. Critical researchers entertain the possibility of competing truth claims arising from alternative theoretical categories, which can guide critical researchers in their analyses and interventions	Habermas modified his ideas in response to debates with Foucault and Gadamer. Conversely, Foucault and Gadamer modified their positions

4.3 Research approach

This study used qualitative approach to analyse empirical data on influences of external actors during formulation of a national ICT policy in the context of a developing country. Qualitative approach is appropriate for in-depth understanding of a phenomenon of interest as it reveals how humans interact in social space (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). As such, the approach allows a researcher to interrogate facts that would have been difficult to explain using the quantitative approach. This is in consonance with the objective of the study which was to analyse how influences of external actors affect policy formulation in a developing country.

Most research is classified as quantitative versus qualitative (Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007). Quantitative methods are used to study natural phenomena mainly in the natural sciences while qualitative research provides an insight into how and why people think and feel about some phenomenon of interest (Ryan & Valverde, 2006). Researchers use qualitative research methods to understand people and their social and cultural contexts (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). The qualitative approach often relies on “personal contact over some period of time between the researcher and the group being studied” (Tuli, 2010, p.100) and is ideal for analysing people’s life histories or everyday behaviour (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). Qualitative researchers’ primary interest is to achieve understanding of some phenomenon of interest or individuals, or groups of individual or cultures in a given context (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). Choice of a method is dependent on the research problem to be examined, the data to be analysed and the data collection methods a researcher has in mind. Similarly, this study sought to comprehend the behaviour of policy actors (people) during the formulation of a public ICT policy in the context of a developing country (the people’s economic, social and cultural contexts) and how that behaviour affected the policy. Effects of influences of external actors during policy formulation were of interest in this study, which sought to analyse how the effects affect policy, which is in line with the scholars’ claims.

IS are social and organisationally-embedded systems that use ICTs for what technology is supposed to be used, which is to improve the lives of people (Walsham, 2005). Other scholars support this notion by arguing that the discipline of IS has a social identity or it is situated in a socio-technical field (Hirschheim & Klein, 2012). Many disciplines such as sociology, computer science, psychology and management inform IS research and practice. The socio-technical aspect of IS has informed multiple approaches to IS research. This study utilised the qualitative approach because it has the ability to explain social issues such as policy-making

by describing and understanding situations behind the issues (Chen & Hirschheim, 2004). Matters of a policy process are social in nature and that policy-making is a social practice in which actors negotiate meanings and interests of their actions (Levinson et al., 2009). The next section discusses different methods applicable in qualitative research.

4.4 Qualitative research methods

Qualitative research methods include case study strategy, ethnography and action research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This study utilised case study strategy and the motivation for its adoption is presented in this section but first a brief description of the research methods follows.

4.4.1 Action research

There are several definitions of the term *action research*. However, Rapoport's (1970) definition states that "action research aims to contribute both to the practical concerns of people in an immediate problematic situation and to the goals of social science by joint collaboration within a mutually acceptable ethical framework" (cited in Myers & Avison, 2002, p.7). Action research strongly emphasises collaboration between researchers and practitioners (Baskerville, 1999). The researcher becomes part of the planned change in society. Action research avails researchers to work in collaboration with practitioners where the researchers are active participants (Baskerville & Myers, 2004; Peffers, Tuunanen, Rothenberge, & Chatterjee, 2007). However, the downside of action research is that it is time-consuming as it takes a lot of the researcher's time but also in the course of the research the field subjects may be "less open and honest with the researcher in cases where he or she is perceived to have a vested interest" (Walsham, 2006, p.322).

4.4.2 Ethnography

Ethnographic research is a discipline from "social and cultural anthropology where an ethnographer" is expected to significantly immerse oneself in the life of the people to be studied as they seek to place the phenomena to be "studied in their social and cultural context" (Myers & Avison, 2002, p.9). The primary objective in ethnography is to understand what happens through experiencing the actions of the people involved. In this method, the researcher immerses oneself in the values, language and practices of a particular situation, which may be an organisation with the intent "to understand what happens through the eyes of the people involved" (Mingers, 2003). The method affords an in-depth comprehension of the phenomenon

under study. However, it is criticised for taking too much of the researcher's time in data collection and analysis in the field (Myers, 1999).

4.4.3 Case study research

This research employed a case study strategy. Case study strategy is most widely used in qualitative research (Orlikowski & Baroudi, 1991). Although there is no standard definition (Yin, 2003), the strategy examines a phenomenon in its natural setting through an iterative research process using different methods of data collection (Benbasat, Goldstein, & Mead, 1987). The method allows use of multiple data sources and deals with common phenomena such as decisions, individuals, processes, institutions and events (Yin, 2003). Case study method combines the phenomenon and the context and its aim is to provide an analysis of context and processes that may cause events associated with the occurrence of the phenomena (Wynn, Jr. & Williams, 2012). The case study is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003, p. 13).

A case study strategy was used to analyse how external actors influence local actors in a policy-making field such as ICT policy formulation field and field of power during the formulation of a national ICT policy. Yin (2003) argues that case study research may be used when:

- i. the study is focused on *how* or *why* questions;
- ii. a researcher is unable to control the behaviour of the actors involved in the study;
- iii. a researcher wants to cover context because of their relevance to the phenomenon under study; or
- iv. the boundary between the phenomenon of interest and context are not clear.

Case study research is advantageous in situations where there is a need to focus on phenomena in its natural setting (Benbasat et al., 1987). Yin (2003) states that case study is useful in studies that focus on *how* or *why* questions. This is in alignment with the study, which focused on *how* the influence of external actors affects policy formulation in a developing country context. The researcher was unable to manipulate the behaviour of the actors as the study focused on the formulation of a national policy that took place in the past. Besides the research focused on a specific case study because of its relevance to the influences of external actors during policy formulation.

Case study is also defined as a phenomenon of some kind that occurs within a bounded context and this phenomenon becomes the unit of analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Case studies can be: (i) exploratory, (ii) descriptive and (iii) explanatory (Yin, 1994). The study analysed effects of the influences of external actors on national ICT policy-making in Malawi, which was the unit of analysis in the study. Thus, the study was explanatory. Some factors are proposed for choosing a research method, which include the research problem, theoretical lens to be used in a study, the degree of uncertainty surrounding the phenomenon, and skills of the researcher (Trauth, 2001). All these factors were considered in the choice of the case study (see Section 4.5).

The influences of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy were analysed using Malawi as the case. Case strategy allows study of a phenomenon in its natural context (Keutel, Michalik, & Richter, 2014). Since policy-making cannot be separated from its context (Birkland, 2015), this study adopted the case study strategy. As presented in Table 4.3, case study strategy deals with social context, which was the focus of this study.

Table 4.3: Qualitative approaches to research (Cole & Avison, 2007, p.821)

Philosophical basis	Positivism	Objectively measured
	Interpretivism	Socially constructed
	Critical analysis	Alienating conditions
Methodologies	Action research	Overcoming practical concerns
	Case study	Shallow immersion in social context
	Ethnography	Deep immersion in social context
	Constructivist hermeneutics	Transcendental interpretations
Modes of analysis	Hermeneutic circle	Meaning of text
	Semiotics	Meaning of signs and symbols
	Content analysis	Structures and patterned regularities
	Conversation analysis	Context of exchange
	Discourse analysis	Turn-taking' and language games
	Narrative and metaphor	Meaning of stories

A limitation of the case study strategy is that it is criticised for its lack of rigour and the long time it takes to produce results (Yin, 2003). In this study, rigour was addressed through the use of multiple methods of data collection (Houghton, Casey, Shaw, & Murphy, 2013) and also by comparing national ICT policies in different countries within Africa.

4.5 Case selection

Case studies in qualitative research can be classified as intrinsic and instrumental (Stake, 1995). An intrinsic case study is used when the main interest is the case itself. The purpose in this instance is not theory building. In an intrinsic case, the idea is not to learn about other cases

but rather that the researcher needs to learn or has special interest about that single case. An instrumental case study is one in which a specific case is examined to provide insight into a problem and in this situation the case is used as an instrument to accomplish something other than understanding this particular case. This approach helps in the refinement of theory (Stake, 1995). Either an intrinsic or instrumental case study can be collective (Stake, 1995). A collective case study is when research uses more than one instrumental case study (Stake, 1995).

This research focused on the formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi (see Figure 4.1) as both an intrinsic and instrumental case study. The case is mainly an instrument because it was used to gain an *in-depth understanding* of the *effects of influence of external actors during policy formulation*. The *problem* or *issue* is the main object of enquiry rather than the case (Stake, 1995). The issue was: *How does the influence of external actors affect formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries?* It was also an intrinsic case study because the case has some *unique aspects*. For example, the country generally depends on 40% of foreign aid year-on-year (Wroe, 2012), which may be a contributing factor to pressures exerted by external actors such as the World Bank during the formulation of the country's policies. In addition, the World Bank has described poverty levels in Malawi as being high (World Bank, data.worldbank.org, 2016). The structural, political, economic and social environment of a country may affect the way policies are formulated (Birkland, 2015). Past reports show that poverty at national level has been in excess of 80% (Elvidge, et al., 2009). There is a possibility that donors (or external actors) may have undue influence on the country's policies given the country's context (for example, poverty levels and aid-dependence). Further, although the country has enjoyed peace and has been stable since its independence (Kelly, 2014), Malawi remains one of the least developed countries worldwide (Sihvonen, 2016). It is argued that choice of a case is central in case study research (Trauth, 2001).

There are different cases of generalisability. Case studies can be used to generalise to theory (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) but they can also be used to generalise to population (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Generally, quantitative research aims at obtaining large, representative samples that are used to generalize findings to populations (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Although some scholars suggest that one cannot generalise on the basis of a single case (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007), others argue that a single case can be used to achieve generalisability. For example, Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that choice of a case, not

necessarily the number of cases, is central in case study research and can be used to generalise to theory. Walsham (1995b) cited in Lee & Baskerville (2003, p.236) elucidates that with a “rich description of a case, the researcher can generalise to concepts, to a theory, to specific implications, or to rich insight. All four of Walsham’s examples involve generalising from empirical statements (reflecting the observations made in a case study) to theoretical statements (concepts, theory, specific implications, and rich insight)”. Yin (1984) (cited in Benbasat et al., 1987, p.373) also suggests that a single case study is appropriate if:

- i. “It is a revelatory case, i.e. a situation previously inaccessible to scientific investigation”;
- ii. “It represents a critical case for testing a well-formulated theory;”
- iii. “It is an extreme or unique case”.

This study adopted the understanding of generalisation to theory based on Walsham’s (1995b) citation and used a single case study.

4.6 Research design

The critical perspective adopted in this study seeks to emancipate and at the same time it aims to be explanatory and practical (Cecez-Kecmanovic, 2011). The researcher was interested in the generation of study propositions to explain the effects of influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in developing countries but at the same time offer recommendations for practice. The setting for the study was the Malawi national ICT policy formulation. Figure 4.1 shows the map of Africa highlighting the countries of focus in the study. In this study, historical research supplemented document analysis with a series of semi-structured interviews with policy actors who took part in the formulation of the policy.

The study took a hybrid deductive-inductive approach. Bourdieu’s framework was adopted to examine the relationships between local actors and external actors, the positions each category of actor occupied in the field, the different forms of capital which “they accumulated, and the dispositions they brought to the field” (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p.58). The concern of this study was how influence of external actors affected formulation of a national ICT policy in Malawi between 2001-2009. This focus period was chosen because it captures debates on the importance of the information society globally.

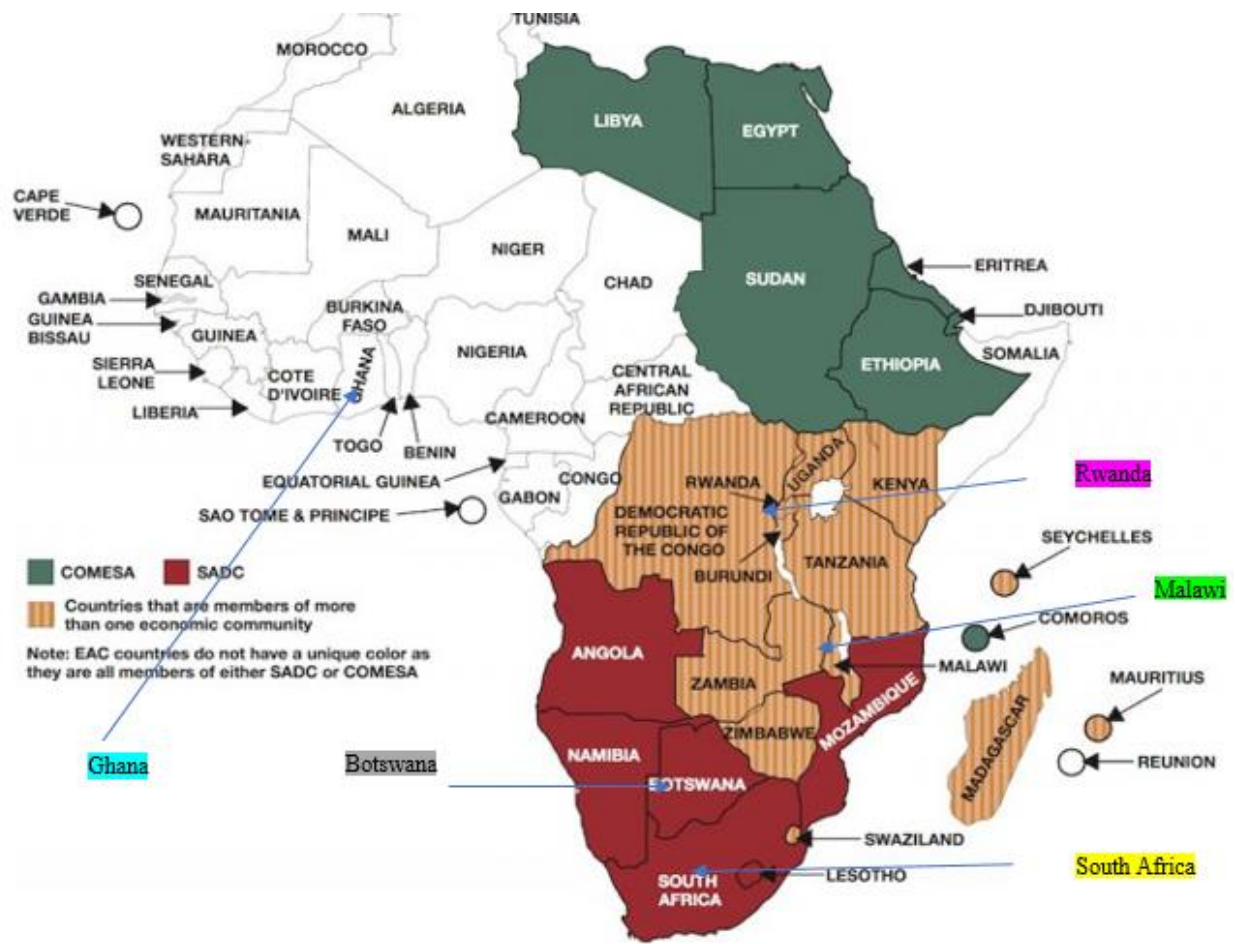


Figure 4.1: A map of Africa showing the case study and comparison countries (Source: www.africastopover.com)

4.5.1 Sources of data

The data for this study were drawn from documents and interviews with policy actors as shown in Table 4.4. These sources were chosen on the basis that the effects of influence of external actors can be identified through interviewing the policy actors who took part in the formulation of the policy and also analysing the policy documents that formed part of the process. Interactions between policy actors who participate in a network reveal outcomes the policy process (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000).

Table 4.4: Data sources

Unit of interest	Primary data	Secondary data
Local actor	Semi-structured interviews	Individual actor documents, workshop reports
External actor	Semi-structured interviews	Websites of external actors
National ICT policy	Three versions of draft policies (2003, 2006 and 2009)	None

There were 19 respondents mainly local actors who were drawn from five categories as in Table 4.5. These were selected on the basis that they took part in the formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi between 2001 and 2009.

Table 4.5: A summary of categories of respondents

Sector	Number of policy actors
Government	6
Parastatal organisations	2
Private	8
Academia	2
NGOs	1

4.5.2 Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this research was the formulation of a Malawi national ICT policy. Case study strategy requires that the social entity, which is the focus of the study, be identified (Yin, 2003).

4.5.3 Sampling strategy

The national ICT policy formulation activity in Malawi involved 27 local actors and three external actors. However, through purposive sampling, 23 policy actors were targeted to be interviewed. This sampling technique is described as an intentional selection of a sample (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008), which is adopted when a researcher is required to use judgement in the selection of cases that will best provide answers to the research question(s) and objectives (Saunders et al., 2012). Additionally, purposive sampling is adopted when the researcher is interested in selecting respondents who are most productive in providing rich information related to the research question (Tuckett, 2005). Furthermore, the study used purposive sampling because the researcher chose those policy actors who were willing and were also available to be interviewed for the study. The technique is useful in small samples such as in case study research (Saunders et al., 2012).

Snowball sampling supplemented the selection of policy actors to identify other stakeholders who were willing to provide information. Snowball sampling is used to select participants who offer to participate in research on a voluntary basis and is “commonly used when it is difficult to identify members of the desired population” (Saunders et al., 2012, p.289). This sampling technique was useful in situations where policy actors had moved from their organisations at

the time of the policy activity and whose contact details could not easily be provided by the organisations.

4.5.4 Data collection methods

Case study research uses multiple data collection methods such as documents and interviews (Yin, 2003). Before visiting the study sites “the researcher should outline, in detail, the data to be collected” (Benbasat et al., 1987, p.374). In this study, documents and interviews were the main data collection methods.

4.5.5 Document analysis

The first step of the critical approach, which was adopted in this research, entails gaining an insight of the context (Myers & Klein, 2011). In this case, the first part of the data collection involved collecting documents related to the study. The documents were three draft national ICT policies for 2003, 2006 and 2009, two sets of minutes of meetings and three reports from pre-policy formulation activities as in Table 4.6. The objective of collecting these documents was for the researcher to have an idea on which actors were important for the next phase of data collection. The Ministry of ICT, which is the current custodian of national ICT policy information, provided the list of policy actors, policy documents and minutes of proceedings. These documents were supplemented with information from websites of external actors such as those of UNECA and UNDP.

Table 4.6: Documents used in the study

Identification	Type	Title/year
GoMICTP1	Draft policy	Malawi Information and Communication (ICT) Policy (2003)
GoMICTP2	Draft policy	Malawi National ICT for Development (ICT4D) Policy (2006)
GoMICTP3	Draft policy	National ICT Policy: An ICT-led Malawi (2009)
Kanjo & Mtema, 2003	Pre-policy report	Role of ICT in Poverty Reduction at national and district levels in Malawi: final report (2003)
Mbvundula, 2003	Pre-policy report	Report on Country-wide Consultations for An Integrated Socio--Economic and ICT Policy and Plan Development Framework for Malawi (2003)
Dzidonu, 2002b	Pre-policy report	An Integrated Socio-Economic and ICT Policy and Plan Development Framework for Malawi (2002)
GoM1	Minutes	Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Information Technology Task Force held on 18 January, 2001
GoM2	Minutes	Minutes of the Third Meeting of Information Technology Task Force held on 25 July, 2001
GoM5	Minutes	Report of The National Information and Communication Technology Working Group (NICTWG) 1st Meeting

For purposes of validation, secondary data consisting of relatively formal policy documents and reports (see Table 4.7) produced by government entities in Malawi, Botswana, Ghana, Rwanda and South Africa (see Appendix 12) were collected mostly from the countries' websites. Using content analysis, data analysed for each case study focused on similarities and differences in (i) policy processes that the different case studies followed, (ii) policy networks that participated in policy development and (iii) the content of the resulting national ICT policies. The case study countries were chosen both for similarity and for differences. Similarity, because all the case studies had been involved in formulating national ICT policies between 2001 and 2009, which was the focus period of the study. In this case, the researcher wanted to gain insights into various ICT policy initiatives in these countries. The countries were also chosen for variation. The researcher sought to understand policy initiatives from East, West and Southern Africa (see Figure 4.1). Differences were also sought because the purpose of the research was to generate theoretical explanations on effects of influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy, one of which was related to country context. Moreover, the different countries used different approaches to policy formulation. Ghana, Malawi and Rwanda used the NICI framework while Botswana and South Africa used the incremental approach to policy-making (Adam & Gillwald, 2007).

Table 4.7: Secondary data from other African countries

Country	Type	Title	Source
Botswana	Report	Botswana's National ICT Policy: Legislative Framework & Change Report	GoB. 2004
Botswana	Policy	National Information and Communications Technology Policy	GoB. 2007
Ghana	Report	The National ICT Policy & Plan Development Committee: The National Consultative Process. Accra	GoG. 2002
Ghana	Report	An Integrated ICT-Led Socio-Economic Development Policy and Plan Development Framework for Ghana	GoG. 2003
Ghana	Policy	The Ghana ICT for Accelerated Development (ICT4AD) Policy	GoG. 2003b
Rwanda	Report	An Integrated ICT-led Socio-Economic Development Policy and Plan for Rwanda 2001 - 2005	GoR. 2001
Rwanda	Policy	An Integrated ICT-led Socio-Economic Development Plan for Rwanda 2006-2010: The NICI-2010 Plan	GoR. 2006
South Africa	Report	2009/10 Annual Report of the Department of Communications	GSA. 2010
South Africa	Policy	National ICT Policy Green Paper	GSA. 2013
South Africa	Policy	National Integrated ICT Policy Green Paper	GSA. 2014
South Africa	Report	National Integrated ICT Policy Review Report	GSA. 2015
South Africa	Policy	National Integrated ICT Policy White Paper	GSA. 2016

4.5.6 Interviews

The study was concerned with a policy-making process that took place in the past fifteen years and therefore interviews became a useful tool for collecting data. Interviews were appropriate because some of the research objectives required an examination of personal accounts on the policy process that was followed in the development of the national ICT policy in the case study. Use of interviews is supported in case study research as the intention is to get personal experiences of the actors in their setting (Schultze & Avital, 2011). The interviews sought to establish the habitus, capital, practices and the interactions among the policy actors in the formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi. This data collection method was key to identifying any influences from external actors and analysing how those influences affected policy formulation.

4.5.6.1 Research instrument design

Bourdieu's theory of practice guided the design of the research instrument, which was used for data collection (see Appendix 7). Each section of the instrument represented a concept of Bourdieu's theory because the researcher sought to understand the policy actors' (1) positions of power in the field, (2) expressions, behaviours and values during policy-making, (3) the resources they brought into the field and (4) the actors' practices during policy formulation.

These focus areas represented field, habitus, capital and practices of respondents. To operationalise the concepts of the theory, a codebook was developed based on the research questions (see Appendix 8). This approach assisted the researcher to remain focused during the conduct of the interviews.

4.5.6.2 Interview process

The instrument was piloted with the first two respondents whose answers helped in improving the questions in the research instrument for subsequent interviews. The two respondents represented academia and the private sector.

The interviews were in English mixed with Chichewa whenever the respondents chose to do so, and took place between August 2017 and January 2018. Although most of the respondents chose to be interviewed at their workplaces, five respondents opted to have the interviews outside of their offices while one was interviewed at his place of residence. One respondent chose to be interviewed through email and the telephone while one chose both face-to-face and email interviews, where there were gaps. The questions that were asked during the interviews were open (See Appendix 7). Interview proceedings were audio-recorded and permission was sought from the respondents to do so. Additionally, with the consent of the respondents, notes were taken during the interviews. To conceal the identify of respondents, pseudonyms have been used in all written transcripts, labels and reporting of interviews (see Table 4.8). A list of the respondents and their affiliations is in Appendix 11.

4.5.7 Data collection

Primary data were collected from 19 policy actors (see Table 4.8) that were closely involved with the formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi. Sample interview questions have been provided in Appendix 7. The interviews, which generally took 50 minutes, were semi-structured to make sure that they captured, for example, beliefs, values and expressions of the respondents. The respondents (see Table 4.8) were selected on the basis that they took part in the Malawi national ICT policy formulation and were willing but also available to be interviewed for the study. Interviews using emails were also administered for policy actors who were not ready for face-to-face interviews. This was done because online interviews are supported in research (Bryman, 2012). An advantage of email interviews is that interviewees are given an opportunity to recall their answers better than it is possible during face-to-face interviews (Bryman, 2012). However, notable disadvantages of email interviews include lack

of “probing and eliciting of further information and also that there is reduced rapport with respondents” (Bryman, 2012, p.667).

This was a cross-sectional study in which data were collected between August 2017 and January 2018. A cross-sectional study is one in which “data are collected through one snapshot at a particular point in time” (Gonzalez & Dahanayake, 2007, p.847).

Table 4.8: A summary of respondents

Sector	Respondent
Academia	ACADEMIC-1 to 5
Non-Governmental Organisation	NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1
Private Sector	PRIVATE-1 to 4
Public Sector	PUBLIC-1 to 6
Public Sector	STATUTORY-1 to 3

4.5.8 Data analysis

Two stages of analysis were carried out in the study; the first stage involved draft national ICT policies, reports and interviews with policy actors within the main case study while the second stage involved analysing secondary data in four African countries. The primary purpose of the second stage of analysis was to validate some of the findings from the Malawi case study and these have been highlighted in the discussion chapter.

Data analysis for the main case study mainly adopted a thematic phased approach proposed by Braun and Clark (2006) (refer to Table 4.9), as the concern was to identify themes or patterns in the beliefs, values and views of the respondents. Themes or patterns in thematic analysis can be identified inductively or deductively using a theoretical framework (Braun & Clark, 2006). Since this study adopted a theoretical framework as a lens in illuminating the effects of the influence of external actors and also used thematic analysis, both the deductive approach based on the theory and “data-driven inductive approach” informed data analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p.82). The deductive approach involved analysing collected data based on codes from a codebook (see Appendix 8). The inductive approach was useful as it provided the researcher with the ability to have different views of the data and therefore was quite useful in providing alternative explanations to reality.

Nineteen respondents, drawn from public and private sectors and one NGO, were interviewed. The transcript from one respondent could not be used because it focused on ICT solutions in the mid-1990s rather than policy formulation covering the three draft policies, which was

outside the scope of this study. The respondent informed the researcher that they only attended a consultative meeting and not the subsequent policy formulation activities. The transcripts of the remaining 18 respondents were considered for the study. One respondent represented a private company, COMPANY-1, whose identity was concealed to maintain anonymity in the study. This respondent mentioned that COMPANY-1 had already developed a policy prior to the national policy-making activity in the case study. Similarly, two external consultants took part in policy formulation activities. These have been identified in the study as EA1 and EA2 representing external consultants.

NVIVO 12 software was used during the analysis. Thematic analysis was applied in an iterative manner to code the data using six phases suggested by Braun and Clark (2006). Informed by Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, habitus and practice, an initial set of eight codes was developed and refined during several iterations of reading and re-reading the first three interview transcripts. This iterative process is supported in qualitative research (Tobin & Begley, 2004). The codes were subsequently applied inductively on the remaining 15 interview transcripts and relevant policy documents in a process that resulted in 24 codes (see Appendix 10). The hybrid approach was vital in integrating the research questions based on the phenomenon of interest using deductive method and the emerging of the themes from the data using inductive coding (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). A careful examination of the codes revealed four overarching themes of context of policy formulation, domination of actors during policy formulation, interaction among actors and policy actors' behaviour during policy formulation.

Table 4.9: Phases of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.87)

Phase	Description of the process
Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

4.7 Reliability and validity

Validity in qualitative research requires rigour in the research design and interpretation of data (Venkatesh, Brown, & Bala, 2013). To increase internal validity, use of strategies such as triangulation, respondent validation and clarifying the researcher's assumptions, biases including theoretical orientation right from the beginning of the study are suggested (Yin, 2003). In this research, validity was increased by using the triangulation method (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). The interviews that were conducted and the content analysis that was performed strengthened the validity in the study. A scholar explicates that documents "may be the most effective means of gathering data when events can no longer be observed or when informants have forgotten the details" (Bowen, 2009, p.31).

Validity was also enhanced by comparing similarities and differences of the Malawi national ICT policy-making process with the processes that Botswana, Ghana, Rwanda and South Africa followed. Reliability was achieved through a review of the content of national ICT policies, documents and reports from Botswana, Ghana, Rwanda and South Africa in addition to the main study country where in-depth interviews were conducted (Yin, 2003). South Africa and Botswana followed the incremental approach to ICT policy-making while Rwanda and Ghana adopted the NICI framework just like the case study country (Adam & Gillwald, 2007).

In addition to different policy approaches and the countries' regional locations, the selection of the countries was based on the ICT development indicators (see Table 4.10) for 2015, which showed South Africa, Ghana and Botswana in the top bracket of the regional indicators and Rwanda and Malawi in the lower segment of the regional indicators (ITU, 2015). The purpose was to compare the effect of the different approaches to policy formulation but also the country locations.

Table 4.10: ICT Development Index (ITU, 2015)

Country	World Ranking/ out of 167 countries in 2015	World Ranking/ out of 167 countries in 2010	Regional Ranking/out of 37 countries in 2015	Rank Change
South Africa	88	88	3	No change
Ghana	109	130	5	Moved up
Botswana	111	117	6	Moved up
Rwanda	154	154	25	No change
Malawi	163	159	33	Moved down

Furthermore, other strategies for validating the findings may be employed. These include (i) integrating "a process of member checking, where the researchers' interpretations of the data

are shared with the participants, and the participants have the opportunity to discuss and clarify the interpretation, and contribute new or additional perspectives on the issue under study” (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 556); (ii) maintaining “field notes and peer examination of the data”; and (iii) implementing a process of double coding, a situation in which the researcher codes the data again after an interval and compares the results (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). This study mainly utilised the third approach of double coding.

4.8 Limitations of the methodology

The policy-making process in Malawi took place more than fifteen years prior to data collection so memory lapses were a limitation as some policy actors could not recall some of the events of the policy process (Alasuutari, Bickman, & Brannen, 2009). This was partly addressed by sending draft copies of the research instrument and draft policy documents prior to the interview to those policy actors who faced this challenge. This was done to assist the actors to recall some of the events that took place years back based on the contents of the draft policy documents.

Because the policy formulation process took place sometime in the past as early as 2003, memory lapses were also accommodated through use of secondary sources such as minutes of policy proceedings and individual notes of actors. Documents are a critical source of data to a researcher because they leave a record of events and processes (Lindlof & Bryan, 2010). Minutes of policy activities were collected from E-Government Department under the Ministry of ICT while the reports and policy documents were obtained from websites. Gaps between minutes of meetings of policy actors were noted. This problem was partly solved through contacting some individuals who made a few additional copies of minutes available.

A third limitation arose when the Ministry responsible for ICT could not trace some copies of the minutes that were taken during policy proceedings. This was mitigated by contacting some of the policy actors who had kept some copies of the policy formulation meetings. A fourth limitation arose when most of the external actors failed to trace individuals who took part in the policy-making arena. Snowballing assisted the researcher in getting some of the roles that the external actors played during the policy-making process. However, it must be noted that while some of the local actors presented their personal views about the roles of the external actors, their level of subjectivity could affect the accuracy of the findings since the local actors’ views on the behaviour of external actors during the process could not be validated.

4.9 Ethical issues

Because the study involved accessing policy documents and interviewing policy actors from different sectors, the researcher sought approval from the National Commission for Science and Technology in Malawi as shown in Appendix 3. This is a government institution that is mandated to provide ethical clearance on research in Malawi. In addition, informed consent was sought from all respondents (policy actors) prior to conducting the interviews. Clearance was also sought from the University of Cape Town, Faculty of Commerce ethics committee to do this research as in Appendix 4.

4.10 Chapter summary

The chapter has presented qualitative case strategy as the choice of the methodology that was utilised in the study. In addition, the chapter has presented the research design in terms of sources of data, data collection instruments, how the data was analysed and ethical issues relating to the research. A summary of the research design for the study is in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Summary of research design for the study

Item	Narrative
Research focus	Influence of external actors in the formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries
Research contribution	Explanatory (to understand behaviour of a phenomenon)
Scientific Approach	Hybrid of deductive-inductive approach
Ontology	Subjective ontology
Research philosophy	Critical research
Generalisation	Theoretical statements to empirical observations
Theoretical framework	Bourdieu's theory of practice
Research strategy	Case study
Unit of observation	Policy actors
Unit of analysis	National ICT policy formulation
Research approach	Qualitative approach
Data collection	Semi-structured interviews and documents
Data analysis	Thematic deductive-inductive analysis and content analysis

5 CASE DESCRIPTION FOR THE MALAWI ICT POLICY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the context of the study where the formulation of a national ICT policy took place. The chapter also briefly provides information about the actors that participated in the formulation of the policy. The aim of the chapter is to bring a better understanding of the study specifically in relation to the processes that were followed in the context during policy-making and the policy that resulted from the interaction of policy actors.

The chapter is structured into eight sections as follows. Section 5.2 outlines the context of the study, which was the environment of policy-making. Section 5.3 discusses the demographics of the context while Section 5.4 gives the economic status of Malawi. Section 5.5 provides an outline of the ICT situation in the country. Section 5.6 describes the public policy-making process in Malawi while Sections 5.7 and 5.8 focus on the national ICT policy and the processes that were followed in the formulation of the national ICT policy in the country respectively. Section 5.9 is a summary of the chapter.

5.2 Context of study

Malawi is a small landlocked country located in East Africa and it shares borders with Tanzania in the North, Mozambique in South East and Zambia in the West (Sihvonen, 2016). Poverty and inequality are quite high in Malawi with one of every two people in the rural areas being poor (Englund, 2006; World Bank, 2018). The main driver of poverty is the poor performance particularly in the agriculture sector since the country's economy largely depends on farming (World Bank, 2018).

5.2.1 Country's historical and political perspectives

Britain established the Nyasaland and District Protectorate in 1891 but this was later changed to the British Central African Protectorate (BCAP) in 1893 (Sihvonen, 2016). It is on record that during the colonial period, European settlers were offered land at low prices, which were used for coffee plantations, and "Africans were forced to work on the plantations in difficult conditions for long periods" (Sihvonen, 2016, p. 38). Following these conditions, Reverend John Chilembwe led an uprising in 1915 against the BCAP but was later killed by police

(Sihvonen, 2016). The country gained independence from Great Britain in 1964 (Morton, 2011) and since then, Malawi has been ruled by five presidents as in Table 5.1.

For a long time, the country has largely been an oral culture under which citizens mostly rely on storytelling to convey messages compared to written texts (Lwanda, 2003). This may, in part, be attributed to the low literacy levels (United Nations, 2011).

5.2.2 *Post-colonial political era*

A few years after gaining independence from the British Colonial rule (Sihvonen, 2016), the country became a one-party state under Malawi Congress Party (MCP); a party that ruled the country until the dawn of multiparty politics in 1994. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was the first party to rule Malawi between 1994 and 2004 under multiparty democracy. This rule was followed by Democratic People's Party (DPP) from 2004 to 2012, then the People's Party (PP) for two years until 2014 (Patel & Wahman, 2014). In May 2014, the DPP was re-elected to lead the country until the present (Sihvonen, 2016). The country has enjoyed peace and stability since its independence (Kelly, 2014).

Table 5.1: Chronology of Malawi Leaders

Name of president	Gender	From	To
Hastings Kamuzu Banda	Male	1964	1994
Bakili Muluzi	Male	1994	2004
Bingu Mutharika	Male	2004	2012
Joyce Banda	Female	2012	2014
Peter Mutharika	Male	2014	the present

Soon after Hastings Kamuzu Banda took over power from Britain and became the first president of the Republic of Malawi in 1966, he suppressed opposition movements (Sihvonen, 2016). However, some leaders started challenging his rule in the early 1990s and in 1992 a public pastoral letter read in all catholic churches was issued to all the faithful by the Catholic bishops in the country (Sihvonen, 2016). Subsequently, opposition groups, who were influenced by aid donors' demands for good governance and human rights, formed pressure groups. In the following year, there was a referendum through which the people voted in favour of a multiparty system of government. The pressure groups subsequently became political parties and these include the UDF and the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) (Englund, 2006).

The first multiparty elections were held in 1994 during which Bakili Muluzi, the leader of the UDF, was elected president (Gilman, 2009). However, Muluzi blatantly abused public

resources (Englund, 2006) and also very much wanted the constitution to be amended to allow him stand for a third term in office (Patel & Wahman, 2014). After plans to amend the constitution failed, Muluzi hand-picked Bingu wa Mutharika to be the presidential candidate of the UDF in the subsequent elections (Sihvonen, 2016). Because of his agenda for zero tolerance on corruption, differences with Muluzi began to grow such that plans to remove Mutharika as leader of the UDF became imminent (Patel & Wahman, 2014). But before the plans materialised, Mutharika formed the DPP and persuaded some members of parliament from other parties to join his party (Patel & Tostensen, 2006). However, during Bingu wa Mutharika's rule with the DPP from 2004 to 2012, Malawi slowly became internationally and regionally isolated (Sihvonen, 2016). For example, the UK DFID, the US government and other donors suspended aid to Malawi (Wroe, 2012).

5.3 Demographics and social challenges

5.3.1 Population and growth

The country has an estimated population of 17.7 million (World Bank, 2016). The population growth rate is estimated at 2.9%, which is higher than in countries within the continent such as Botswana at 1.8%, Ghana at 2.2%, Rwanda at 2.4% and South Africa at 1.6% (World Bank, 2016).

5.3.2 Social challenges facing Malawi

The country is faced with many challenges, inter alia, low literacy levels at 65.4% (United Nations, 2011), high rates of unemployment, lack of food security (NSO, 2016) and low incomes (World Bank, 2016).

Low literacy levels may also reveal why ICTs have been seen merely as tools for computer applications such as word processing and spreadsheet manipulation (Kanjo & Mtema, 2003). In the current generation, there appears to be a hybrid culture in which ICTs are seen as instruments that can be used for several initiatives such as communication, electronic payments, among others (Kunyenje, 2017).

On the Human Development Index (HDI), Malawi is listed on position 170 of the 188 countries in 2016 (UNDP, 2016). Poverty rate was high at 50.7% in 2011 (United Nations, 2011). These challenges, coupled with the others, may have an effect on access to ICTs in the information society. Only 9% of the population in the country has access to electricity, of which 25% is consumed by urban households while the rural only accounts for 5% of the national

electrification rate (Hivos, 2018). An estimated 85% of the population lives in rural areas (NSO, 2016). This may affect ICT penetration levels due to inadequate power supply and weak telecommunications infrastructure (Dzidonu, 2002) generally in those rural areas. Mobile phone penetration rate is also low, recorded at 36% of the population (World Bank, 2018) in a recent report and often times the service offered is not reliable because of daily high dropout rates and congestion. Likewise, the call charges are reported to be the highest within the SADC region (Hivos, 2018). Power and telecommunications are fundamental to the socio-economic development of any country, particularly the penetration of ICTs (Gaynor, 2010). Table 5.2 shows a summary of the indicators in the context. All these factors may contribute to the low usage of ICTs.

Table 5.2: A summary of social indicators for Malawi

Description of indicator	Status	Source
Low literacy levels	65.4%	United Nations, 2011
Human development index	170 out of 188	UNDP, 2016
Rural population	85%	NSO, 2016
Urban population	15%	NSO, 2016
Electricity penetration rate	9% of total population: of this 25% for urban households and 5% rural communities	Hivos, 2018
Mobile penetration	36% of total population	World Bank, 2018
Poverty	50.7%	United Nations, 2011

5.4 The Country's Economy

5.4.1 *Economic status of the country*

Malawi, a low income country, is poor with over 90% of the population living on less than US\$2 a day (Wroe, 2012; World Bank, 2015). The country remains one of the least developed countries worldwide (Sihvonen, 2016).

Her economy is heavily dependent on small-scale subsistence and rain-fed agricultural production (United Nations, 2011). Nevertheless, small businesses, fishing, and wage labour often supplement agricultural production. Tobacco is the most significant provider of the country's export revenue (up to 70%), whereas 20% is from production of coffee, tea and sugar cane (Kelly, 2014, p. 116). A 2007 survey shows that Malawi is a least developed country based on a classification by the UN and labeled as a highly indebted poor country by the World Bank (Kelly, 2014).

The country's economic base is narrow with no mineral resources and is heavily dependent on agriculture (Dzidonu, 2002). Nearly 90% of the rural population derive their livelihood from agriculture, which accounts for 90% of the country's exports (Shafika, 2007). According to the same report, by 2007 the agricultural sector had deteriorated within a space of ten years and poverty was said to be *"widespread in both rural and urban areas with nearly half of Malawi's population struggling to live on less than USD\$1 a day. Income distribution is very unequal"* (Shafika, 2007, p.2). These challenges adversely affect access and usage of internet services and thus lower application of ICTs. For basic economic indicators see Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Basic economic indicators (Shafika, 2007)

Indicator	Status
2005 Economic activity (% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP))	Agriculture: 34.7% Industry: 19.4% Services: 45.9%
Human Development Index (2004)	166 (out of 177 countries)
Per capita gross national income (US dollars)	\$160 (2004); \$160 (2005)

Despite the economic slowdown, a number of comparative advantages and positive trends, which the economy may benefit from, have been noted. For example, the World Bank (2016) classifies the country as being peaceful, stable and democratic. The report further notes that the political and economic governance reforms that have been undertaken in recent years could put the country "on a more solid footing for sustained economic growth, improved service delivery and effective policy-making". The report further shows that poverty levels are relatively declining in urban areas but not yet in rural areas while health indicators are improving (World Bank, 2016).

5.4.2 Foreign aid situation in the country

Foreign aid in Malawi has been contributing 40% of the national budget for a long time (Mkamanga, 2018; Wroe, 2012). Despite this aid dependency syndrome, the country experienced rapid economic growth between 2004 and 2010 when the economy grew at an average of 7% (Wroe, 2012). This positive trend has, however, been attributed to effects of donor support in a form of foreign aid (UNESCO, 2013). Reports show that despite getting foreign aid year-in and year-out, Malawi still fails to sustain economic growth and reduce poverty (Fagernäs & Schurich, 2004). Since the 1980s, Malawi has been heavily dependent on foreign aid accounting for 25% of the country's GNI (Fagernäs & Roberts, 2004).

Malawi became a sovereign state upon gaining independence from Great Britain in 1964. In the past, government of Malawi (GoM) has denounced donors and CSOs for interfering with the country's projects. However, paradoxically the country continues to depend on donors for foreign aid and other assistance (Wroe, 2012). For example, at a political rally, Peter Mutharika condemned bilateral partners and CSOs for suggesting prudence in awarding of contracts for projects (Chauwa & Phimbi, 2018). Earlier a brother to the incumbent president, Bingu wa Mutharika, also criticised donors over similar sentiments. Observations were made then that:

The problem is that Malawi is still a long way from economic self-sufficiency. And until it reaches that point it needs - and its people need - the assistance of donors. Hopes that China would miraculously fill the gap 'with no strings attached' have proved unfounded, although Beijing has funded some key infrastructure projects ..., so the country's Treasury will continue to rely on dollars, pounds and euros to help fill its coffers. (Lee, 2018)

Thus, condemning donors for pointing at ills of the nation such as corruption is not in tandem with the observation that “*Malawi is as dependent upon aid now as it was fifty years ago*” (Wroe, 2012, p.9).

5.5 ICT situation of the context

Malawi's ICT development index is low compared to most countries within Africa (see Table 4.10). The high rate of population growth may hinder development, including provision of services such as telecommunications, as it creates pressure on government resources. Of the current population, only 6.1% has access to the Internet (Sihvonen, 2016). These statistics are not surprising given the social indicators in Table 5.2.

On infrastructure (see Table 5.4), Malawi faces challenges in human and financial resources, which affect the development of its ICT sector such as underdeveloped ICT infrastructure (see Table 5.4), high cost of telecommunications, and unstable and unreliable power (Shafika, 2007). A recent report suggests the huge need for infrastructure investment as an opportunity to push economic “growth and create jobs outside of the agricultural sector if funds can be mobilized” (World Bank, 2016). Challenges on access to digital technologies include lack of affordability, availability and quality of broadband connectivity, low human and institutional capacity (World Bank, 2016).

Table 5.4: ICT infrastructure indicators for Malawi (Shafika, 2007)

Indicator	Narrative
Fixed-line subscribers (2004)	93 per 1,000 persons
Mobile subscribers	222 per 1,000 persons
Dial-up subscribers (2005)	16.2 per 1,000 persons
Internet users (2004)	46.1 per 1,000 persons

By 2007, the few initiatives that attempted to bridge the digital divide in Malawi were mainly funded by donors such as the World Bank, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), DFID, and the Japanese International Co-operation Agency (JICA) (Shafika, 2007). A recent report still paints a gloomy picture on ICTs in Malawi. For example, mobile penetration “remains low, with subscriptions standing at 36% of the population, compared with 53% for countries with a similar GDP per capita and 80% across Africa at the end of 2015” (World Bank, 2016). “Only 7% of households had access to the Internet in 2014 and fixed broadband subscriptions were estimated around 4,000 as of March 2016. Development of and access to digital public services is likewise extremely low. Malawi has fallen from 133rd in 2004 to 166th of 193 countries in the 2016 UN E-Government index which measures provision of online services, telecommunication connectivity and human capacity” (UNDP, 2016). The uptake of “digital technologies by private firms is also low, with Malawi scoring just 0.07 on the business component of the World Bank’s 2015 digital adoption index, lower than its scores for either citizen (0.17) or government (0.29) use of ICTs” (World Bank, 2016).

5.6 Malawi public policy-making process

The public policy-making process in Malawi (see Figure 5.1) adopts the standard approach described in section 2.4. This process starts with a government Ministry undertaking the first two stages of agenda setting and development of a concept paper (See Figure 5.1). Next, a policy network is constituted to take part in the next three steps of stakeholder consultations, review of cabinet paper and presentation of the paper to the Cabinet. The presentation of the paper is the work of the policy network while cabinet takes a decision on the paper. Next, parliament debates on an appropriate legislation for the policy. After this stage, the last two steps of policy implementation and policy monitoring and evaluation are undertaken by the Ministry. Once approved by cabinet, the policy is ready for implementation beyond which issues of evaluation arise (Makoza, 2017). Thus, cabinet is the only authority mandated to decide on the policy document. These stages are the responsibility of the government Ministry. As shown in Figure 5.1, the policy process may iterate at each stage.

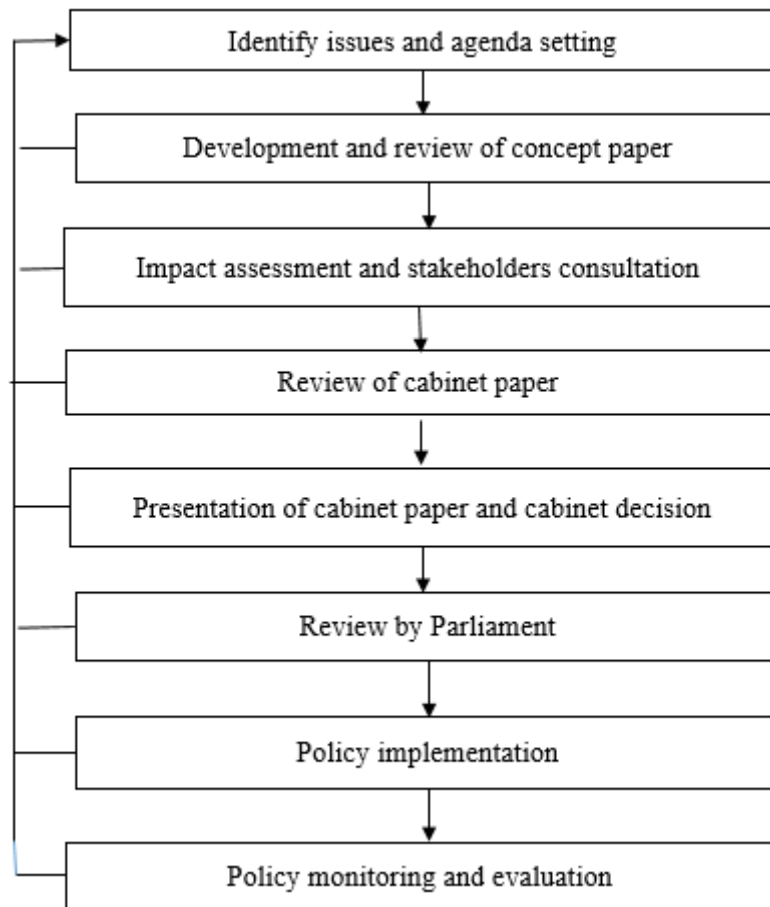


Figure 5.1: Policy process followed by GoM (PUBLIC-3)

The first draft policy was not presented to cabinet while the subsequent two draft policies were presented to Cabinet but sent back several times to the policy network for reviews. The role by cabinet may have contributed to the delayed launching of the policy as stated by one respondent: “[the] paper went to cabinet a number of times [but] it was sent back to community” (NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1). Although reviews were made by the policy network, cabinet delayed the process further by suggesting more issues to be included in the policy.

5.7 Malawi national ICT policy

The first activities to developing a national ICT policy can be traced to the year 2001. A survey report shows that by 2007, Malawi had a dedicated national ICT policy that included the promotion of ICTs in education and other related areas such as information services and networks (Shafika, 2007). This contradicts the government’s official stance which shows that Malawi had its first national ICT policy in 2013 (Kamwambi, 2018) but confirms the position that the process took longer than anticipated (GoMICTF, 2013).

5.7.1 Pre-policy activities

There were three major pre-policy-making activities that informed the agenda for the policy. First, local actors played an active role in pre-policy activities such as conducting a survey on usage of computer resources at district and national levels (Kanjō & Mtema, 2003). This survey, which took place in 2002, primarily focused on government offices and was funded by UNDP. The second activity was undertaken by an external consultant who conducted an evaluation on the readiness of the country in adopting the NICI framework (Dzidonu, 2002b). Later in early 2003, a local consultant also conducted a series of workshops to sensitise key stakeholders (see Appendix 9) on the importance of the NICI framework (Mbvundula, 2003). These activities informed the agenda for policy-making. Although local actors were involved, external actors controlled the activities through provision of funding as listed in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: A summary of pre-policy-making activities funded by actors

Year	Activity	Authors & Year	Sponsoring Institutions
2002	Pre-policy survey on the computer situation in Malawi	Kanjō, C. & Mtema, P., 2003	UNDP
2002	Framework for developing a national ICT policy	Dzidonu, C., 2002	COMESA & UNDP
2003	National ICT Policy Framework Consultations	Mbvundula, T., 2003	UNDP

At the beginning of 2002, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and UNDP jointly funded work in preparation for a pre-policy framework workshop that adopted the NICI plan. This activity culminated in a report part of which stated that:

“...While the Government recognized the role that ICTs could play in the developmental process, there is currently no comprehensive government policy or plan in this area. Also past national economic development plans did not incorporate aspects of ICT developmental plans or programmes” (Dzidonu, 2002b, p.47).

In 2003, UNDP provided funding for a stakeholders’ consultation process on the national ICT Policy framework Malawi was to adopt (see Table 5.7). This activity was undertaken to sensitise stakeholders on the NICI framework. An extract from the report revealed that this was a consultative process:

“...The Malawi National ICT Policy Framework document outlines the SUNRISE model for the development and implementation of NICI plans. The SUNRISE model forms part of the UNECA methodology for guiding the development of national ICT plans and

provides a framework for identifying and guiding the implementation of suitable programmes, projects and initiatives that could be incorporated into the NICI Plans” (Mbvundula, 2003, p.2).

By involving other stakeholders as in Table 5.6, government valued interaction with other actors in the development of a national ICT policy.

Table 5.6: A list of stakeholders consulted during pre-policy-making

Category	Policy actor	Sector	Role played
Local	Department of Information Systems and Technology Management Services (DISTMS)	Public	Secretariat, Chairperson
	Malawi Communications Regulatory Authority (MACRA)	Public	Member
	Ministry of Information and Civic Education	Public	Member, Funding
	Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security	Public	Member
	Bumas International	Private	Member
	Ministry of Development Planning & Corporation	Public	Member, Funding
	Office of the President and Cabinet	Public	Member
	Limbe Leaf Tobacco Limited	Private	Member
	Malawi Telecommunications Limited	Public	Vice Chairperson
	University of Malawi	Public	Chairperson
External	UNECA		Funding, Advisory
	UNDP		Funding, Advisory
	COMESA		Funding, Advisory
	World Bank		Funding, Advisory
	NEPAD		Funding, Policy ideas
	Other countries such as Uganda and Rwanda		Policy ideas

5.7.2 Policy formulation methodology adopted

The first draft of the Malawi national ICT policy adopted a methodology developed by UNECA within the framework of the AISI. The key outputs were (i) the Policy, (ii) the Framework, (iii) Plan and (iv) Structures (Lance & Bassolé, 2006). The policy was aimed at providing details of key commitments and considerations of the government. These commitments were to be translated into a Plan detailing the programmes and initiatives that would be the basis for

implementing the policy commitments. In addition to the Policy and Plan, the Framework proposed Structures of relevant national coordinating structures, bodies or institutional arrangements that were intended to support implementation of the policies and plans.

5.8 Formulation of the draft policies

Formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi involved local and external actors (see Table 5.6). Local actors included actors that were appointed into the policy network, political actors and other stakeholders. Two separate teams were appointed to serve in the policy network. During the first draft policy, an Information Technology Task Force (ITTF) involving actors from the public and private sectors including non-governmental organisations served as actors in the task force. The second and third draft policies were led by a National ICT Working Group (NICTWG). Actors in both the ITTF and NICTWG were appointed by government. Both local and external actors played different roles during the process.

Although Malawi was among the first African countries to embark on formulating a national ICT policy (Adam & Gillwald, 2007), it was only until 2013 that the final version of the policy was accepted by government; more than 10 years after the first draft. Poor record keeping has also been noted. For example, the earlier versions of the national ICT policy in 2003, 2006 and 2009 cannot easily be traced on government websites and yet some individual actors have been keeping copies of the draft policies for years. Thus, the culture of relying on storytelling other than record keeping may help explain why records are not readily available in the government offices (Lwanda, 2003).

There have been three drafts of the national ICT policy in Malawi (Makoza & Chigona, 2012). The first draft ICT Policy was released in 2003. It focused on four areas of (i) youth and development, (ii) health, (iii) business and commerce and (iv) ICT policy and regulations (Makoza & Chigona, 2012), which were in a form of government commitments. This draft policy was developed during the tenure of Bakili Muluzi, who became the first head of state under multiparty politics in the country. The second and third draft policies focused on similar areas although the term ‘thematic areas’ was used instead of ‘commitments’, and were released in 2006 and 2009 respectively. The three drafts of the policy documents are summarised in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: A summary of draft versions of ICT policies in Malawi (Makoza & Chigona, 2013)

Date of release	Policy document	President
June 2003	Malawi Information and Communication (ICT) Policy	Bakili Muluzi
July 2006	Malawi National ICT for Development (ICT4D) Policy	Bingu wa Mutharika
February 2009	National ICT Policy: An ICT-led Malawi	Bingu wa Mutharika

The first draft was the only policy that was developed based on the NICI framework with support from the AISI and UNECA. An external consultant, who was recruited by UNECA, developed a draft policy using the framework. The purpose of the draft was to “contribute to the attainment of the aspirations of the Vision 2020, the objectives of the Malawi Science and Technology Policy, and the objectives of Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy paper” (GoMICTP1, 2003, p.7). The custodian of this draft policy was the ITTF. This draft policy was later abandoned by members of the National ICT Working Group (NICTWG) in favour of a local approach to policy formulation.

The aim of the second draft policy was to provide “... a framework for deployment, exploitation and development of ICTs to support the process of accelerated socio-economic development in Malawi” (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.2). Although the name of the second draft policy was ICT4D, in the context it was the ICT policy. As in Table 5.8, the second and third draft policies had the same aim and were also both led by the NICTWG. A summary of the draft policies and their custodians is in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: A summary of purpose and custodian of the policy

Version of policy	Purpose	Custodian of policy
First draft national ICT policy	<i>Contribute to the attainment of the aspirations of the Vision 2020, the objectives of the Malawi Science and Technology Policy, and the objectives of Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy paper (GoMICTP1, 2003, p.7)</i>	ITTF
Second draft national ICT policy	<i>Provide a framework for deployment, exploitation and development of ICTs to support the process of accelerated socio-economic development in Malawi (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.2)</i>	NICTWG
Third draft national ICT policy	<i>Provide a framework for deployment, exploitation and development of ICT to support the process of accelerated socio-economic development in Malawi (GoMICTP3, 2009, p.6)</i>	NICTWG

The final draft of the policy released in 2009 was officially launched with minor changes in 2013 when Joyce Banda was the president (Malawi Government, 2015). This version has ten priority targets. A summary of the objectives or thematic areas in the three draft national ICT policies is presented in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9: Summaries of the three draft ICT policies in Malawi (Makoza & Chigona, 2012, p.12)

First national ICT Policy (based on NICI framework)	Second national ICT Policy	Third national ICT Policy
ICT human resource	ICT leadership	ICT leadership
Enabling environment for ICT	Human capital	Human resource development
Export oriented ICT industry	Education	Governance
Private sector support	Health	ICT in industries
Investment in technologies	Human resources development	ICT infrastructure development
Information security and law	Governance	ICT in growth sectors
Institutional and legal frameworks	ICT industry	ICT in communities
ICT standards and best practices	ICT infrastructure development	Legal & regulatory frameworks
Implementation institutions and plans	ICT in growth sectors	International Cooperation
Promoting Access to ICT	ICT in Communities	Universal access of ICTs
Gender in development and use of ICT	Legal and regulatory frameworks	
Partnerships in implementation		

5.9 Chapter Summary

Despite several efforts to embrace ICTs, Malawi continues to lag behind in terms of technology. Most recent ratings on ICTs show that Malawi was at position 159 out of 167 countries in 2010, by 2015 the country had slipped to 163 out of the 167 countries. Although some variables such as poverty levels and literacy levels appear to be improving, ICT infrastructure in Malawi remains a challenge and this has been one of the pillars or themes under the national ICT policy of the country. Lastly, this chapter provided the different policy drafts that were formulated between 2003 and 2009 including the different external actors that have been involved in the policy drafts. It is noted that the final draft of the national ICT policy, whose theme is an ICT-led Malawi, was officially launched in 2013 under the presidency of

Joyce Banda. In addition, the chapter has identified external actors who have played different roles in implementing the national ICT policy. However, the effects of the involvement or influence of the external actors have not yet been researched.

6 EMPIRICAL OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter described the case of Malawi as the context in which development of three draft national ICT policies for this study took place. This chapter presents findings based on Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, capital and practice in the formulation of three draft national ICT policies in Malawi between 2001 and 2009. The study focused on effects of the influence external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in developing countries with reference to Malawi as the case. It sought to answer the research question: *How does the influence of external actors affect formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries?* The findings of the study are presented and analysed in light of major issues isolated from key literature and reports.

Four themes emerged from the data relating to policy-making in the study and these were: context of policy formulation, domination of actors during policy formulation, interaction among actors and policy actors' behaviour during policy formulation. The context of policy formulation was categorised into two sub-themes: (i) the policy-making field, which was the specific field of analysis and (ii) acknowledgement of context of policy formulation, which was the broad field under consideration. These themes are revealed under each draft policy.

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 6.2 describes the policy-making field as the focus of the study. Sections 6.3 to 6.5 present findings related to the three draft national ICT policies. Section 6.6 outlines similarities and differences among the three draft policies in Malawi. Section 6.7 provides an outline of the influences of policy actors that were identified in the formulation of the three draft policies. Section 6.8 is a summary of the chapter.

6.2 Policy formulation field

Malawi as the context in which formulation of the national ICT policy was the focus of this study. There were three overlapping *fields* nested within this field. (See Figure 6.1). These were: (i) draft national ICT policy of 2003, (ii) draft national ICT policy of 2006 and (iii) draft national ICT policy of 2009. Each draft policy had a temporary boundary, a purpose to be achieved in a time frame and a network of policy actors that occupied different positions in the field. Furthermore, there were two additional fields that had relationships with the three policy-making fields. These are political field, which Cabinet occupied and external actors' field, in

which most of the influence of external actors were located (see Figure 6.1). While the political field was nested within the third draft policy field; the external actors' field was nested within all the three fields.

The goal of the main field was to formulate a national ICT policy for Malawi. However, three different draft policies were developed before the final policy could be completed. Figure 6.1 depicts the fields that constituted the national ICT policy-making field in Malawi.

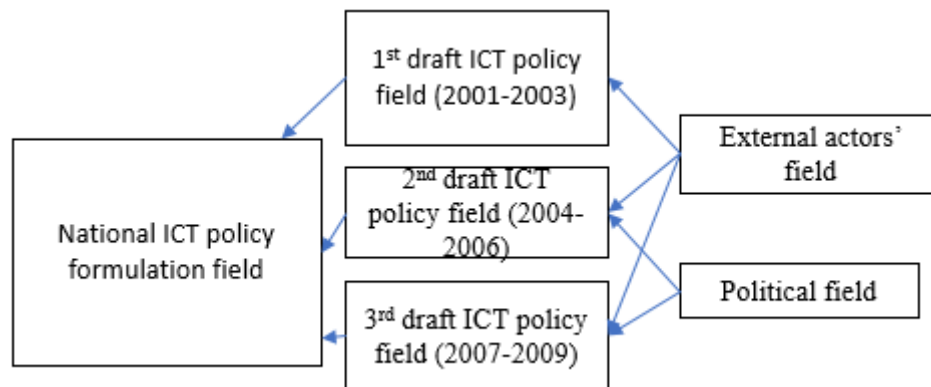


Figure 6.1: Overview of overlapping and nested fields of ICT policy formulation in Malawi

With some level of autonomy and its own logics (Maton, 2005), a field generates “its own values and behavioural imperatives that are relatively independent from forces emerging from the economic and political fields” (Naidoo, 2004, p.458). The national ICT policy field was not completely autonomous. There was control from the external actors' field through presentation of a draft policy that was based on a blueprint. This control reduced the autonomy of the policy-making field and created a cross-field effect, which affected the policy process as mentioned in the quote:

“... when the template was thrown out. ...and [the] policy approach changed from UNECA to [take a] national [stance], that’s what has worked [for the nation]” (NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1).

Similarly, the political field controlled the actions of the policy network because cabinet is the only authority that has the mandate to approve a public policy in Malawi. (See Figure 5.1). The actions of cabinet caused a delay in the approval of the policy, which was another cross-field effect: *“[the draft policy] paper went to cabinet a number of times [but] it was sent back to [the] community [for amendments]” (NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1).* After a convoluted process from 2001, cabinet approved the national ICT policy in 2013, which was more than ten years after the process started (GoMICTF, 2013).

6.3 First Draft of National ICT Policy Field (2001- 2003)

The ITTF championed the first draft of the national ICT policy field. The team was composed of actors from public and private sectors as well as actors from non-governmental organisations. The first draft policy was named “Malawi ICT Policy” and its purpose was to “*contribute to the attainment of the aspirations of the Vision 2020, the objectives of the Malawi Science and Technology Policy, and the objectives of Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy paper*” (GoMICTP1, 2003, p.7). The contribution that the draft ICT policy highlighted underscored the importance of “*...the economy and society using ICTs as an engine for: accelerated sustainable development and economic growth; social and cultural development; national prosperity; and global competitiveness*” (GoMICTP1, 2003, p.7).

The above statement may illustrate that Malawi sought to align the policy with other strategies. Thus, it could have been in the habitus of the local actors that *aligning public policies with other national and international goals is important*. This habitus was endorsed through some practice, which was *readiness to participate in policy-making activities*. (See Figure 6.2). This practice was produced and reproduced in the policy-making field through their participation as “*decisions were arrived at through consensus*” (ACADEMIC-4) but also the holding of several policy-making meetings (GoM1, 2001; GoM2, 2001b).

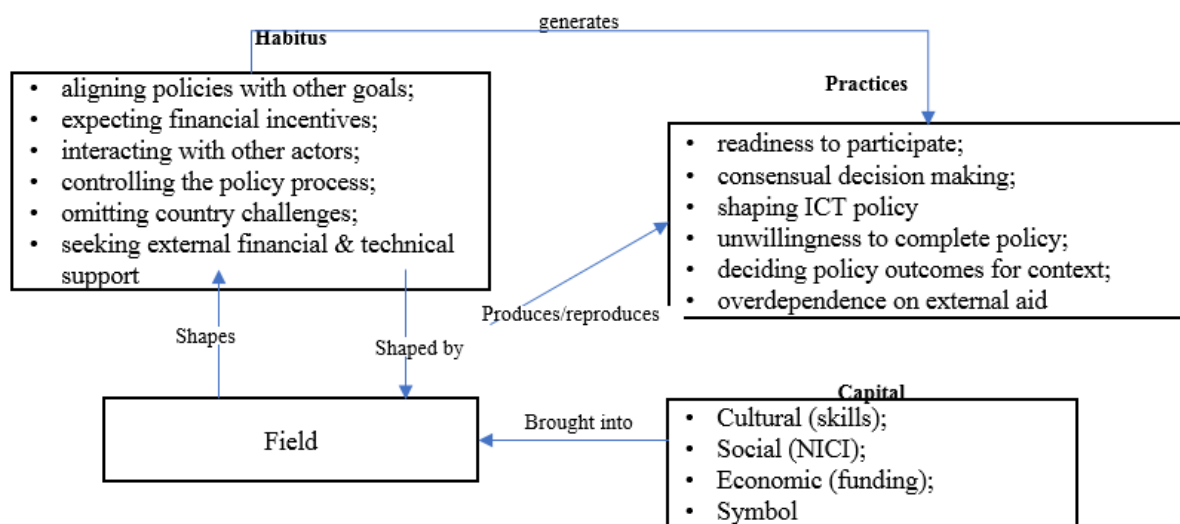


Figure 6.2: Mapping of Bourdieu's concepts during first draft policy

6.3.1 Policy-making field

The first sub-theme on policy-making field showed that there were no efforts at national level to come up with a policy but rather that global events such as NEPAD and UNECA directions prompted policy formulation:

“a donor [UNECA] came and said [that] there are issues of an ICT policy. So, a donor came and said we will fund it, hence Malawi did not own the policy” (PRIVATE-3).

Within the same field, local actors felt the need for technical support in the development of the first draft national ICT policy: *“Write to Ministry of Information requesting for [UN]ECA Technical Assistance on IT Policy and legislation drafting” (GoM1, 2001, p.2).* This was a resolution that the ITTF made during one of its policy-making meetings. Many respondents expressed lack of technical skills in policy formulation as the reason why government sought external support: *“[there was] general admission that the country did not have skills in policy formulation hence [government] called for assistance” (PUBLIC-5).* This may mean that the local actors admitted to lacking knowledge and skills in ICT policy-making.

Bourdieu refers to knowledge and skills, which are incorporated in the habitus, as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2005). The local actors’ lack of skills in policy formulation meant that the ITTF possessed limited or insufficient cultural capital in the field. To fill this gap, government requested for technical support, which UNECA provided. The recruitment of a technical consultant influenced the direction Malawi took in the development of its national ICT policy. This could have exposed the habitus of the policy network of *seeking external technical assistance* in the policy field.

Some respondents felt that the NICTWG abandoned the draft policy, which was based on the NICI framework, because it was incompatible with the needs of the local community in Malawi:

“[EA1] brought a template (NICI framework) [but] reactions were mixed. Some thought it was a good idea [while] others thought it [the policy] was [a result of] copy and paste [from another country]” (PUBLIC-3).

“when [EA1’s] mission failed the templates were thrown out and I think the process took a national approach rather than a UNECA approach and ... [that’s when there was progress on the policy]” (NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1).

This may mean that the local actors did not socially connect with external actors through use of the blueprint. Bourdieu (1986) refers to social capital as shared value from interactions of people, which allows actors to achieve goals they could not on their own. The local actors abandoned the NICI framework in favour of a local approach, suggesting that the actors may

not have valued the idea of adopting the NICI framework. The local actors may not have understood the framework from UNECA and thus resorted to work using local means to formulating the policy. This could mean that the local actors had insufficient social capital in the field resulting in the abandonment of the draft policy.

Most respondents attributed failure to proceed with the policy process to lack of interest from the political players and suggested that the manifesto of a political party is instrumental in supporting policy initiatives. A respondent felt that a ruling party manifesto is key in policy decisions:

“[if you] compare [the draft] policy with DPP’s manifesto, [you will see that] there’s a mismatch. [The party is addressing different areas as opposed to ICTs]” (PRIVATE-2).

The respondent observed that if one were to compare the draft national ICT policy with the then ruling party manifesto, they would see a mismatch:

“And I think another interesting aspect would be to compare this policy versus the DPP manifesto and what the DPP manifesto says about IT and whether those things are really happening because now we can have a platform with which we can measure if we are making progress. Or this is indeed one of those many documents that are just lying somewhere” (PRIVATE-2).

The first draft policy was not presented to cabinet, which is one of the stages in the policy process that the Malawi government follows. (See Figure 5.1). The first draft policy may not have been progressed to this stage due to changes in the political climate. There was a change in political leadership in 2004 when Bingu wa Mutharika took over the country’s presidency from Bakili Muluzi (Patel & Wahman, 2014). This change could have contributed to failure to present the policy to cabinet for approval.

Some respondents felt that the policy was not taken to cabinet stage for approval because politicians from ruling party assumed that it was wrong to implement ideas from a previous governing party: *“ruling party manifesto is key to ICT initiatives as it is assumed [politicians assume in Malawi] that outgoing party’s ideas are wrong” (ACADEMIC-1).* Shortly after Bingu wa Mutharika became president on a UDF ticket, he resigned from the UDF and formed the DPP (Patel & Wahman, 2014). This could have contributed to the abandonment of the first draft policy. The first draft policy was developed during the UDF era when Bakili Muluzi was

the president but then Bingu formed his own party whose manifesto could have been different. Thus, the change of political parties may have contributed to the stalling of the policy process. The change resulted in a cross-field effect in that the political field could not continue with the work of the policy network from the draft policy field and in turn stalling the policy process.

6.3.2 Acknowledgement of context of policy formulation

The first draft policy omitted contextual factors. Particularly the policy did not mention challenges which would puzzle the country and could be the potential aspects the policy should seek to address or can affect policy implementation. In the period prior to the policy-making activity, a report revealed that electricity, poverty and illiteracy were some of the challenges that Malawi was facing (Dzidonu, 2002). However, the first draft policy did not mention these challenges. There was little mention of high illiteracy rates as having an impact on access to and usage of ICTs. Although the draft policy mentioned literacy as in “*Promote basic literacy and ICT literacy in Malawi*” (GoMICTP1, 2003, p.13), the policy was silent about the country’s illiteracy levels as a challenge relating to ICTs. Similarly, poverty was only mentioned in the context of another policy paper:

“Furthermore, the conviction is demonstrated through Government’s prioritization of ICT activities in the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper” (GoMICTP1, 2003, p.6).

The Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy (MPRS) Paper was a policy document that was compiled before the national ICT policy formulation activity commenced. Again, “... *energy [electricity] and poverty were not considered at the time of developing [the] policy*” (PRIVATE-1).

This omission manifests the habitus of the country of *omitting challenges of the country*. This could mean that the policy team was inexperienced and failed to appreciate the importance of the context in the success of a policy. Alternatively, it could be that the NICI framework was so over-powering, so the policy network failed to customise it to the case of Malawi.

Most respondents felt that omitting the challenges associated with the context of the country could have resulted in unrealistic objectives being included in the policy. For instance, one of the commitments in the first draft policy was on export-oriented ICT local industry. Attainment of this commitment would be problematic given that Malawi heavily relies on imported raw materials for most of its production processes.

Furthermore, the policy did not discuss challenges associated with economic and cultural capital in the context as having the potential to affect policy objectives. When they were mentioned, it was not clear how the policy would address them. For example, the mission of the ICT policy stated economic growth, social and cultural development but no corresponding strategies were mentioned to address these challenges. The quote in the mission statement that “... *the Government shall provide and facilitate the necessary enabling political, economic, regulatory, legal and institutional environment to support the process of moving Malawi from a predominately agricultural economy to an information-rich and knowledge-based economy*” (GoMICTP1, 2003, p.9) may have given hope that government was aware of various challenges the country was facing. However, there were no corresponding strategies in the policy to address these challenges.

6.3.3 Domination during policy formulation

External actors largely dominated the first draft policy field through provision of funding and a framework for policy formulation. During one of the policy-making meetings, a UNECA sponsored consultant informed the local actors that [they] had worked on a similar project in the region. This was a disclosure of experience and an advantage that the consultant possessed in the policy-making field; thus, experience is a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2005). The consultant also possessed skills in the ICT policy-making field. Skills are also a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In addition, the consultant valued the habitus of *controlling the policy activity* and this matched with the practice of *deciding policy outcomes for the context*. The consultant, therefore, drafted the Malawi ICT policy:

“What I can remember is that the consultant presented the draft policy and people were making comments on the draft policy. He brought a document and he was presenting what he thought like this could be the draft” (STATUTORY-C1).

Due to experience and skills, which are a form of cultural capital, the consultant occupied a position of influence in the field compared to the local actors (the ITTF). Moreover, the consultant used the NICI framework to draft the Malawi policy. The NICI framework as a resource was a form of social capital, which was the effort of UNECA. This means that external actors contributed to the *shaping of the ICT policy* as a practice. By adopting this framework, local actors became dominated in the field while external actors occupied positions of influence through possession of cultural and social capital in the policy-making field. The NICI

framework has been identified as a form of influence in earlier research (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013). A summary of the different capitals that were at play in the formulation of the first draft policy is provided in Table 6.1.

Within the policy network, MACRA became a dominant actor. Although, government was keen to establish a national ICT body that would be responsible for implementing of ICTs in the country: *“The Government shall establish a Malawi Information Technology and Communication Technology Authority (MICOTA)”* (GoMICTP1, 2003, p.11), MACRA did not seem to support the idea. For instance, a respondent said that:

“...government had wanted to set up Malawi Information and Communication Technical Authority (MICOTA) but MACRA was against [the proposal]” (PRIVATE-3).

This could mean that MACRA sought to take the dual roles of regulator and implementor at the same time. Thus, MACRA dominated the process.

Table 6.1: Forms of capital of policy actors in the first draft policy

Category of actor	Name of actor	Source of capital	Capital possessed
External actor	UNECA	NICI framework	Social capital
	UNDP	Funding	Economic capital
	NEPAD	Funding	Economic capital
	EA1	Skills and experience	Cultural capital
	EA2	Experience	Cultural capital
Local actor	Cabinet	Decision making	Symbolic capital
	Policy network	Decision making	Symbolic capital

Most respondents felt that the external consultant [EA1] only guided the process through presentations and clarification of issues during policy meetings while local policy actors made decisions through consensus:

“... what was happening in most cases is that [when] they [the consultants] were involved ... they would advise that from this stage this is what is done and probably document and present to the chair” (PUBLIC-2).

“Overall it was discussion and people had to put up their arguments regarding a specific [issue]... if the case was favoured by many obviously that was taken on board but the consultant tried as much as possible to be open, neutral” (ACADEMIC-2).

In other words, the local actors made the final decisions regarding policy outcomes. This was a form of power that the local actors possessed in the field and, in turn, an influence. Another

external consultant EA2 provided support in the policy-making field: “[EA2] from ECA made a presentation on policy format, suggested compliance with international practice on standards” (PUBLIC-5). Bourdieu describes the power that the local actors possessed as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1993).

The consultant was released soon after the presentations as recorded in one set of minutes:

“The Chairperson suggested to the house that the Consultant be released and that the house should meet again in the afternoon, 14:00 Hrs to come up with key cross-cutting areas for the IT Policy to be developed as requested by the Consultant. The house agreed and the meeting was adjourned to 14:00 Hrs” (GoM2, 2001b, p.2).

Both EA1 and EA2 provided technical guidance in the policy-making process. Similarly, EA2 only made presentations in the field. The ultimate decision making was still with the local actors. They had the power to accept or reject recommendations. Put simply, the local actors occupied a position of influence in the policy field and through consensual decision making, the local actors dominated the policy-making field. However, this was a temporary field of power, which was limited (Grenfell, 2008). The local actors’ decision was subject to the influence of external actors and the decision of cabinet in the political field, which is the only authority to make decisions on public policies in Malawi within the broad policy-making field. (See Figure 5.1).

External actors mostly did not access the policy-making field directly. They operated from the background. Some respondents said that external actors directly attended policy-making meetings merely as observers:

“... I think they [the World Bank] may be coming in by attending meetings but I can’t recall they did fit ...just [came in] as stakeholders” (PUBLIC-6).

In this instance, representatives of the World Bank attended the meetings only as observers and did not make contributions during the policy meetings. They did not occupy a position of influence in the field. Another respondent observed that the World Bank officials never attended the meetings: *“the World Bank never participated [in policy meetings] directly”* (PRIVATE-1).

The minutes of the ITTF meetings do not show that the representatives of the World Bank attended some meetings except during formulation of the third draft ICT policy. Overall, external actors dominated the policy-making field through economic, social and cultural capital that they possessed.

6.3.4 Interaction among actors

The interaction among actors in the policy-making field involved the policy network, external actors and other stakeholders as in Table 5.7. Policy actors constituted local and external actors while stakeholders included different players that provided input to the policy-making process. Government appointed local actors into the ITTF or policy network, which was set up following a recommendation from an external consultant:

“For Malawi there will be a need to identify institutions to facilitate the policy and plan development process. The National ICT Task Force is one of these structures”
(Dzidonu, 2002, p.95).

The ITTF and an external consultant mainly accessed and occupied the policy formulation field through indirect involvement. Donors such as UNDP and UNECA indirectly participated in this field through provision of funding and technical support. The composition of the policy network varied as in one meeting there were six members with three from the public sector and the other three from the private sector (GoM1, 2001) whereas in another meeting there were twelve members; four from public sector, seven from private sector and one external consultant (GoM2, 2001b). One respondent said that participation in the meetings was open:

“Everyone was allowed to attend the [policy-making] meetings except towards the end. In 2009 the [policy] process got distorted” (NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1).

However, local actors attended the meetings at the invitation of government through DISTMS as the secretariat: *“I was involved by invitation not a core member”* (ACADEMIC-3). Invitations to meetings were sent to the in-charge of organisations who could have decided on the participants to attend the meetings.

6.3.5 Policy actors' behaviour in the field

Local actors were not keen to attend policy meetings without being given some incentives. Most respondents felt that a culture of expecting incentives was the norm in the formulation of the policy:

“local actors from private, public, NGOs participated; some attended because of allowances, a culture that was started by UNICEF” (ACADEMIC-1).

When meetings were held in Lilongwe, which is the seat of government offices, the Lilongwe participants would not receive any incentives consequently some participants shunned the meetings. In this case, local actors valued the habitus of *expecting incentives for attending meetings* in the policy field. This was a socially accepted behaviour among the local actors most of whom expected to receive incentives (Hanks, 2005). According to Bourdieu, behaviour is in the habitus (Grenfell, 2008).

6.3.6 Summary of the first draft policy

Generally, external actors played some roles in the policy field through provision of resources and expertise. Through funding and technical support, external actors indirectly participated in the formulation of the first draft national ICT policy in Malawi. This supports earlier research which revealed that external actors operate from behind-the-scenes in the formulation of national ICT policies in Africa (Metfula, 2013; Odongo, 2012). Within the field, however, local actors made the ultimate decisions at each and every step despite influence of external actors in the policy-making process. In other words, the local actors occupied positions of influence in the policy-making field. This field exposed three forms of influence of external actors, which are: financial support, technical support and use of the NICI framework.

Government adopted a top-down approach to policy-making as the policy issue started from government (Sabatier, 1986). Within the policy-making field, local actors and external actors expressed different ‘habitus’ in the process. These resulted in different practices and produced different effects.

6.4 Second Draft of National ICT Policy Field (2004 – 2006)

The second draft of the national ICT policy field was aimed at providing: “... *a framework for deployment, exploitation and development of ICTs to support the process of accelerated socio-economic development in Malawi*” (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.2).

A different policy network occupied the second draft policy field after government dissolved the ITTF at the end of the first draft: “[*the*] *task force [ITTF] was excluded from participating in the second version of the policy [and a new team was appointed]*” (PRIVATE-4). The new team was called the NICTWG: “*The ministry will also monitor and review policy implementation progress through a National ICT Working Group (NICTWG)*” (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.35). A comparison of the composition of the previous and the new policy networks revealed that most of the ITTF members also became members of the NICTWG. This means that some elements of the habitus of the ITTF could have been transferred to the NICTWG in the second field. The new policy network may have been bound by the habitus of the ITTF. This may mean that the processes that the previous network followed could not have been different in the second draft national ICT policy. As anticipated, there were similarities in the habitus of the actors between the first draft and the second draft policies. For example, the habitus of *expecting incentives for attending policy meetings* persisted in this field. (See Figure 6.3). This habitus of expecting incentives for participating in policy activities in developing countries such as Malawi has been noted in literature (Green, 2010). However, there were also differences between the ITTF and NICTWG in the two draft policy fields. A review of the actors in the two teams showed that the ITTF was mainly composed of ICT experts especially from DISTMS whereas the NICTWG consisted of actors from a wide range of institutions such as government, civil society, private sector including banking:

“to ensure that there is coordinated effort of Public, Private and Civil Society institutions for the successful realization of the policy objectives, a National ICT Working Group (NICTWG) should be appointed by the minister responsible for ICT. The NICTWG will be responsible for reviewing and monitoring policy implementation progress” (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.35).

Thus, the change of name could have been necessitated to accommodate inclusion of policy actors. In addition, the mandate of the NICTWG was to go beyond policy formulation.

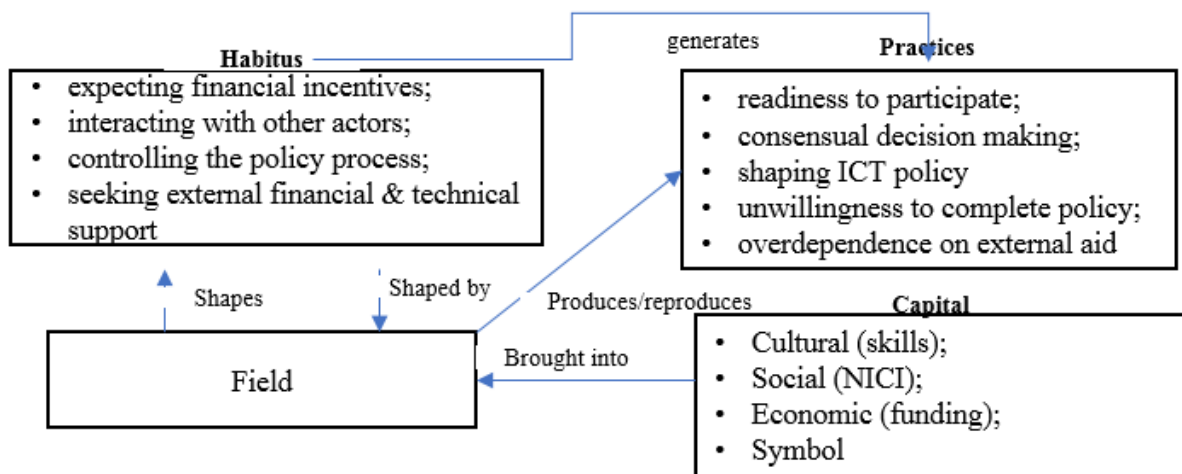


Figure 6.3: Mapping of Bourdieu's concepts during second draft policy

6.4.1 Policy-making field

The sub-theme of policy-making field during the second draft policy showed that the policy network valued contributions of individual actors: “*contributions of individuals [individual actors] ... maybe not in totality*” (PUBLIC-6); “*skills and knowledge of participants were valued*” (PUBLIC-5). The policy network valued knowledge and skills, which are a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2005). This is in contrast with the first draft policy field in which local actors admitted that they did not have knowledge and skills to develop a national ICT policy. Thus, valuing contributions of individuals may mean that the local actors were gradually becoming familiar with the policy-making field following knowledge and skills gained during the first draft policy field.

The policy network developed a draft implementation plan for this draft policy. A respondent mentioned that “*an implementation Plan was developed whose intention was to operationalize the National ICT policy*” (PUBLIC-2) during the policy-making activity. However, another respondent said that an implementation plan was not developed for operationalising the second draft policy: “*no implementation plan [was] developed for [draft policies in] 2003 and 2006*” (PUBLIC-5). The second draft policy showed that there was a draft implementation plan, which was annexed to the draft policy. The development of an implementation plan could mean that the policy network was gradually gaining cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) for developing a national ICT policy.

6.4.2 Acknowledgement of Context of policy formulation

The NICTWG considered country context during the second draft policy:

“... Malawi faces a number of challenges that must be taken into account in order to achieve sustainable development processes and outcomes and promote the development and use of ICT. More often such challenges have affected and derailed the implementation of policies and strategies on one hand and intended outcomes, on the other” (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.7).

The challenges outlined in the policy included (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.7):

- i. “Inadequate resources including human, financial, material, technological and capacity to train personnel”;
- ii. “Over-dependence on donor aid”;
- iii. “High cost structures in the economy including transport, telecommunications and electricity”;
- iv. “Low levels of education resulting in high illiteracy rate that makes it difficult to implement ICT programmes particularly among women, youth, and other disadvantaged groups”;
- v. “Tax burden on computer and other ICT products and services”; and
- vi. “Unreliable commercial power resulting in frequent power interruptions”.

The acknowledgement of challenges could have assisted the policy network in coming up with realistic strategies for addressing the contextual factors. However, despite acknowledging the challenges such as over-dependence on aid, the local actors still considered donor support as a strategy to implement policy objectives:

“Encourage donor agencies, non-government organizations and other development partners of the country to help in ICT capacity building initiatives” (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.31).

In this case, a challenge was perceived as a solution at the same time. This could mean that the policy network failed to find a solution for addressing the challenge.

Despite identifying some challenges in the context, the draft policy did not mention other key contextual factors such as poverty and population. Failing to mention these challenges may mean that the policy network could not find a solution around the problems but it may also be that the challenges could have the same effect even if they had been mentioned. These

challenges may contribute to poor performance of an ICT policy and thus lead to poor policy outcomes (Diga et al., 2013).

6.4.3 Domination during policy formulation

External actors dominated the second draft policy field. Through funding, UNECA became dominant in the policy field. UNECA funded an external expert EA2 to assist with the policy process. UNECA provided funding, which is a form of economic capital and EA2 possessed cultural capital in a form of skills and expertise to develop the policy. UNECA recruited EA2, which means that UNECA indirectly brought cultural capital in the field. Thus, UNECA provided both financial and technical support in the formulation of the policy.

The presence of an external expert during a policy meeting was noted:

“... [EA2], the ECA’s consultant presented the best practices in ICT Strategic Planning Process. These were presented in the view to provide the NICTWG with a wider choice and the best option for coming up with Malawi ICT Plan of Action. The consultant presented the best practices with some specific examples and what other nations have adopted” (NICTWG, 2006, p.6).

In this case, EA2 presented policy ideas as best practices during policy-making meetings. The policy ideas presented during meetings may have guided the local actors on what to include or not in the policy, meaning that EA2’s ideas could have influenced the policy process. But EA2 represented UNECA in the process and, therefore, UNECA indirectly provided policy ideas in the policy process. Bourdieu refers to policy ideas as a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, through possession of economic and cultural capital, UNECA occupied positions of power in the field. Bourdieu understood domination as primarily being prompted by unequal allocation of resources (Walther, 2013). Hence, UNECA dominated the policy-making process.

Likewise, the World Bank funded some activities in the policy-making field. For example, they provided funding for the development of a Universal Access Policy through MACRA, a local actor in the NICTWG:

“... the World Bank provided funding for the development of the Universal Access policy through MACRA” (PRIVATE-3).

The World Bank did not directly participate in the policy field. This could mean that MACRA was used for ‘fronting’ the World Bank’s participation in the field. Bourdieu refers to funding as a form of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). MACRA used this funding to pay incentives to other local actors in the policy network: “*MACRA funded process*” (PRIVATE-3); “*Universal Access policy was funded by the World Bank*” (PUBLIC-5). In this case, the World Bank dominated the policy-making field from the funding angle through possession of economic capital.

Some local actors were dominant within the policy network: “*MACRA could have dominated because they sent a huge delegation so could have dominated the process*” (PRIVATE-3). Most respondents said that decisions were made through consensus. The large numbers of participants that MACRA brought into the policy field probably favoured MACRA’s decisions. One respondent said that: “*policy outcomes or suggestions were mostly from MACRA. They already knew what they were looking for*” (PUBLIC-4). Thus, due to the large numbers of representatives in the policy network, MACRA could have had an advantage in deciding policy outcomes since decisions were through consensus.

DISTMS also dominated the network. DISTMS was chosen to lead the policy process because of the funding they brought into the field (Bourdieu, 1986). It was observed that “*the overall in-charge [of the policy-making activity] was DISTMS. [They were], chosen because of funding*” (PRIVATE-3). In addition, DISTMS occupied a position of power in the field because of their mandate: “*[DISTMS] was chosen to [chair policy meetings] due to mandate of the department*” (PUBLIC-6). Consequently, DISTMS controlled the policy-making activities: “*government [DISTMS] chose who to participate*” and “*sometimes [DISTMS] would choose to invite loyalists for not wanting divergent views*” (PRIVATE-3). DISTMS occupied a position of power in the field, which could have been used in deciding who can attend the meetings. Thus, DISTMS may have become more influential and in turn dominated the policy network (Bourdieu, 1977).

Public including actors from private sector and non-governmental organisations who attended the policy-making meetings possessed social capital. Their presence in the policy network legitimised the policy-making field. Bourdieu describes social capital as a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks (Bourdieu, 1986). This may mean that without their participation in the policy meetings, the policy-making process could have been less legitimate. However, external actors mostly provided funding in the field, which is a form

of economic capital and Bourdieu sees this as the basis of all the other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). This may mean that without external actors funding the activity, either the numbers of participants from MACRA could have been reduced or the actors could not have met to develop the draft policy. Thus, external actors dominated the policy field through possession of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The different forms of capital that the policy actors possessed in the second draft are summarised in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Forms of capital of policy actors in the second draft policy

Category of actor	Name of actor	Source of capital	Capital possessed
External actor	UNECA	Funding	Economic capital
	The World Bank	Funding	Economic capital
	EA2	Skills	Cultural capital
Local actor	MACRA	Funding	Economic capital
	Private and non-governmental actors	Legitimation	Social capital
	DISTMS	Funding Power to choose participants	Economic capital Symbolic capital

6.4.4 Interaction among actors

Both local and external actors occupied the second draft field. One of the external actors was the UN who brought the idea of ICT4D in the field: “*ICT4D originated from within the UN system*” (PUBLIC-3). Thus, the UN valued the habitus of *bringing policy ideas into the policy process*. This idea was a form of external influence.

The NICTWG accepted to adopt the notion of ICT4D from the UN and incorporated it into the policy title. In this case, there was interaction between the UN and NICTWG through a policy idea. However, this notion originated from an overlapping field, which was external to the field of policy-making because the UN system operated from an external actors’ field. (See Figure 6.1). In this case, the external actors’ field influenced or affected the policy activity in the policy-making field; a space which local actors occupied. The local actors may not have understood the idea behind ICT4D. This position may agree with Bourdieu who argues that “when policy ideas from one context (field of production), of which they are a product, are transferred into a different field of production they are re-interpreted in accordance with the structure of the field of reception and may result in misunderstandings and have intended or unintended consequences” (Bourdieu, 1999, p.221). The policy idea from the UN system stood out and may be in tandem with previous research, which has shown that in a policy network

some ideas tend to be more dominant and controlling than others and may emanate from other interest groups (Rhodes, 1997).

Overall, local actors valued the habitus of *interacting with other actors* in the formulation of the policy by accepting ideas from other actors such as the UN.

6.4.5 Policy actors' behaviour in the field

The behaviour of the NICTWG tended to favour incentives rather than the policy itself. Most respondents felt that the local actors valued the habitus of *expecting to be paid incentives for attending policy meetings*:

“a senior government official [came] demanding that they be paid an allowance for attending a meeting” (PRIVATE-1).

The majority of the respondents observed that the policy actors had developed a culture of expecting incentives for attending meetings, which exposed the habitus of the local actors in the field. Their focus on the policy would only be sustained if they received incentives. This habitus was also noted in the first draft policy. As such it may be concluded that there was lack of commitment on the part of most of the local actors in the policy-making field: *“Seventy percent (70%) of [the] ICT task force were not committed, [their] focus was on allowances [incentives]”* (PRIVATE-1). This may mean that the local actors' interest was not in the policy but rather, in the financial gains. In other words, without financial incentives there would be no policy.

6.4.6 Summary of the second draft policy

To sum up, this field presented three categories of influences which are provision of funding, provision of technical support and policy ideas. These forms of influences were largely from external actors. However, the external players did not directly influence the proceedings of the policy actors. Contributions of individual policy actors were acknowledged in the policy-making field suggesting that the local actors were slowly gaining cultural capital. Similarly, challenges in the context were discussed in policy meetings and included in the draft policy. This may suggest that the policy network was aware that contextual factors play a role in policy implementation. Like in the first draft, external actors possessed more economic and cultural capital. Local actors possessed some forms of economic, social and symbolic capital although

these were limited compared to the economic and cultural capital that external actors brought into the field.

6.5 Third Draft of National ICT Policy Field (2007 – 2009)

The purpose of the third draft was to: “... *provide a framework for deployment, exploitation and development of ICT to support the process of accelerated socio-economic development in Malawi*” (GoMICTP3, 2009, p.6).

The NICTWG led development of this draft policy, which was named “National ICT Policy”. Both local and external actors played some roles in the development of the third draft policy, with the World Bank and UNDP mostly providing financial and technical support in the draft policy field. Most local actors brought experiences from earlier versions of the national ICT policy suggesting that the habitus of the local actors from earlier draft policies was transferred to the third draft policy. Figure 6.4 is a mapping of the habitus, practices and capitals that were at play during the third draft policy.

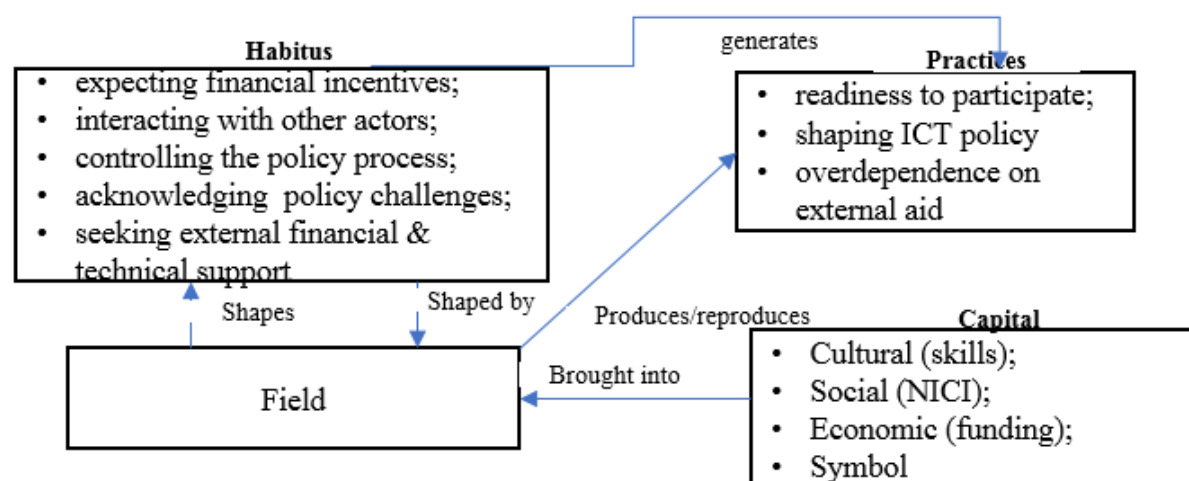


Figure 6.4: Mapping of Bourdieu's concepts during third draft policy

6.5.1 Policy-making field

The sub-theme on policy-making field in the third draft showed that private and non-governmental actors legitimised policy decisions of the public actors. Government chose who to attend the policy meetings: “*government used loyalists to participate in policy meetings... for not wanting divergent views*” (PRIVATE-3). This could mean that government intended to minimise debates so that the policy could be finalised without further delays. Alternatively, it could be that overtime government had identified policy actors that they could work with to conclude the policy.

Decisions for this draft policy were not through a consensual process:

“I think that before 2009 it was a consensus-based approach. Actually beyond 2009 there were very few meetings and ... because the original sector [team] went through it [draft policy] a number of times so when it was being rejected at Cabinet it never came back to the community to look at what the responses were...it was just going back to E-government, the PS [Principal Secretary] and they would make some modifications without consulting the community” (NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1).

This may suggest that government recruited the NICTWG to legitimise its decisions. A respondent felt that participants could not oppose statements of senior government officials during meetings: *“[the] protocol in government meetings is that you don’t oppose [contributions of senior government officials]” (ACADEMIC-3).* This may mean that the policy decisions were largely government’s ideas and that the local actors were not free to debate issues during policy meetings. Alternatively, involvement of a PS could mean that government was eager to have the policy finalised quickly. A PS is a top technocrat responsible for the overall direction and running of a government Ministry.

The policy space also exposed vested interests. For instance, the private sector expected the policy to protect indigenous businesses:

“One of the key interests was for the ICT policy to protect indigenous ICT businesses in the sense that no foreign company should come into Malawi and win a tender from a Malawian registered company and execute all of it 100% themselves. We wanted the policy to make room where local entrepreneurs and companies are recognised and they take part in that tender so that; one, there is an issue of skills transfer and secondly, we guard against forex flight so that all of the money goes out of the country but we should have some little bit of the money that stays within the country” (PRIVATE-2).

Similarly, those from library circles expected the policy to address issues relating to access to E-libraries:

“[the libraries] expected the policy to address issues concerning electronic access of databases for advancement of science in the country” (ACADEMIC-3). These interests may have created diversity for the policy and affected policy decisions, in turn. A few respondents mentioned that there was: *“no implementation plan that was developed for the draft policies”*

(STATUTORY-C1); “no implementation plans were developed for 2003 and 2006 draft policies except for 2009 draft [policy]” (PUBLIC-5). However, the third draft policy had an implementation plan as part of the document, albeit without timeframes. This may mean that the policy network still had insufficient cultural capital in ICT policy formulation field.

Overall, the government influenced the policy-making activities in the field. They chose loyalists to attend policy meetings who only legitimised the policy field.

6.5.2 Acknowledgement of context of policy formulation

Local actors considered challenges associated with the context in the draft policy: “*socio-economic challenges which are associated, among other things, with inadequate communication infrastructure, very low utilization of technology and lack of information*” (GoMICTP3, 2009, p.6). This may suggest that context was valued during the policy-making process. Although dependence on foreign aid was not mentioned in the policy, donor support was identified as a strategy for implementing some policy outcomes. For example, “*Encouraging donor agencies... to facilitate the roll-out of community-based ICT initiatives and ICT capacity building initiatives*” (GoMICTP3, 2009, p.14) was identified as a strategy to achieve some of the objectives in the policy. This could mean that once the policy was approved, government would approach donors for support. In this case, the practice of *overdependence on foreign aid* appears to continue to take root in the context. (See Figure 6.4).

The draft policy identified other challenges Malawi was facing such as:

“inadequate resources including human, financial, material, technological and capacity to train personnel; poor allocation and utilization of available resources; over-dependence on donor aid; and high cost structures in the economy including transport, telecommunications and electricity” (GoMICTP3, 2009, p.7).

This revealed the habitus of the local actors of *acknowledging country context challenges* during policy formulation, which may affect implementation of policy outcomes. The new habitus may suggest that the local actors were slowly gaining some cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in formulating a national ICT policy, which they did not possess in the first draft when they omitted challenges associated with the country context.

6.5.3 Domination during policy formulation

External actors indirectly dominated the policy-making space. For example, the World Bank funded MACRA to implement a project on telecenters: “MACRA received funding [from the World Bank] for implementing telecenters” (PUBLIC-2). This project was a policy focus area under a draft Universal Access policy, which had not yet been finalised and approved:

“[the NICTWG] presented two policies, the draft national ICT policy and the Universal Access policy, to cabinet. [The] Universal Access policy was funded by the World Bank. [Cabinet] then directed [the NICTWG] to combine the two drafts into one policy. However, the World Bank was only interested in universal access not whole policy” (PUBLIC-5).

In this case, the World Bank may have set a policy focus area for the context. The World Bank could have channeled its funding through MACRA because of the mandate that the second draft policy defined for MACRA:

“MACRA will take a leading role in regulatory activities in the implementation of the ICT Policy. The responsibility for management and administration of universal access to ICT services and the development and monitoring of specific projects and their implementation shall reside within a Universal Access Department that will be created within MACRA” (GoMICTP2, 2006, p.35).

In turn, MACRA used the funding from the World Bank to pay incentives to other local actors during the policy-making process: “MACRA funded the [policy-making] process” (ACADEMIC-3). The policy network was developing two policies at the same time, which were the national ICT policy and the Universal Access policy. MACRA could have taken advantage of the funding from the World Bank to pay incentives to the policy network: “the World Bank was only interested in Universal Access [policy] not the whole [national] policy” (PUBLIC-5). In this case, the World Bank indirectly dominated the policy-making field through funding a local actor. Bourdieu refers to funding as a form of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Likewise, UNDP dominated the policy-making field: “UNDP provided funding [for policy meetings] once in a while” (PUBLIC-5). This could mean that the policy network approached donors for assistance whenever they did not have sufficient funds to hold policy meetings. In

this case, the local actors may have possessed insufficient economic capital to continue with the policy process. In this case, UNDP indirectly dominated the local actors as a result of economic capital they provided in the field. Put simply, the World Bank and UNDP indirectly dominated local actors because of the funding they provided in the policy-making field.

Among the local actors, public actors generally dominated private and non-governmental actors within the field. One respondent said that: "*MACRA could have dominated [other local actors] because they sent a huge delegation so could have dominated the process*" (PRIVATE-3). This may have given MACRA an advantage over other local actors in the network. Further, MACRA funded policy meetings using funds they collect from telecommunications providers: "*MACRA collects money from operators so that was [part of] the funds [they used] for hosting policy meetings*" (PRIVATE-3). Thus, MACRA possessed economic capital in the field.

Other respondents felt that DISTMS dominated the policy-making field because of the authority the institution possessed in the field: "*[DISTMS] provided both chairperson and secretariat services but also brought resources such as funding to the policy arena*" (ACADEMIC-3). The positions of chairperson and secretariat in the field together with provision of funding to the policy arena may have given DISTMS some forms of influence. DISTMS, which was the secretariat, occupied positions of power in the field and chose participants to policy meetings to minimise opposing views. In other words, government occupied a position of power in the field.

Other local actors also dominated the policy network. One respondent felt that PRIVATE-4 dominated the others during policy meetings: "*[the] vocal person [during policy meetings] was PRIVATE-4 and [also] dominant*" (PUBLIC-3). PRIVATE-4 could have temporarily dominated both DISTMS and MACRA because of symbolic capital [they] possessed. Symbolic capital takes different forms as "a resource that can be mobilised in its own right in the struggle to achieve a dominant position within the field" (Jackson, 2008, p.168) but also as some form of tacit power such as honour, prestige, pride or the right to be heard, that an agent holds (Bourdieu, 1993). However, PRIVATE-4 may have temporarily dominated other local actors in the field because decisions were made through consensus and the actors that had more representatives could have had some advantage. In addition, public actors brought economic capital into the policy field, which Bourdieu describes as the basis of all the other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

The forms of capital that policy actors possessed and brought in the policy-making field are listed in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Forms of capital of policy actors in the third draft policy

Category of actor	Name of actor	Source of capital	Capital possessed
External actor	UNDP	Funding	Economic capital
Local actor	MACRA	Funding	Economic capital
	DISTMS	Funding	Economic capital
	Private and non-governmental actors	Skills Legitimation	Cultural capital Social capital

6.5.4 Interaction among actors

Within the broader field of policy formulation, the NICTWG consulted and therefore interacted with both local and external stakeholders on policy objectives:

“The GoM appreciates the role and the participation of all stakeholders in the development of this ICT Policy. These include the National ICT Working Group, the UNDP, the World Bank, UNECA, ... traditional chiefs, the private sector, individuals and the general public at large” (GoMICTP3, 2009, p.4).

This may suggest that government sought contributions on the policy from the community as input to the policy but chose to limit debates within the policy network. Most policy actors in the policy network were appointees of government, mainly from the public sector. Some respondents felt that government recruited loyalists during this phase: *“government used loyalists to participate in the policy”* (PRIVATE-3). This could have been the case because DISTMS, a government department, was the secretariat but also provided funding to other local actors during policy meetings. The amount of funding could not have been enough for a large team in which case DISTMS may have chosen to have a few actors in the NICTWG. Funding is a form of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). As a secretariat, DISTMS chose who to engage in the policy space, which is a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In this case, DISTMS possessed both economic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in the field. However, UNDP funded meetings once in a while: *“UNDP provided funding [for policy meetings] once in a while”* (PUBLIC-5). This may suggest that the funding that DISTMS possessed was limited to the extent that an external actor provided financial support for the meetings to take place.

6.5.5 Summary of the third draft policy

In summary, through provision of economic and cultural capital, external actors indirectly dominated the draft policy field. Both UNDP and the World Bank brought economic capital into the field. Generally, public actors dominated other local actors within the network. This was a result of the capitals the public actors brought in the field.

A mapping of habitus and practices in the three different draft policy fields is shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: A summary of habitus versus practice in the three draft policy fields

Policy draft	Habitus	Practice
First draft policy	aligning policies with other goals	shaping ICT policy
	expecting financial incentives	readiness to participate
	interacting with other actors	deciding policy outcomes for context
	controlling the policy process	unwillingness to complete policy; shaping ICT policy; overdependence on external aid
	omitting country challenges	consensual decision making
	seeking external technical support	overdependence on external aid
Second draft policy	expecting financial incentives	readiness to participate
	interacting with other actors	consensual decision making
	controlling policy process	unwillingness to complete policy; shaping ICT policy
	seeking external technical support	overdependence on external aid
Third draft policy	expecting financial incentives	readiness to participate; decisions made through consensus; shaping ICT policy
	interacting with other actors	decisions made through consensus
	controlling policy process	overdependence on external aid
	acknowledging policy challenges	decisions made through consensus;

6.6 Similarities and differences in the draft policies

There were some similarities and differences in the three draft policies related to commitments or themes, structure and content.

6.6.1 Similarities among the draft policies

All the three draft policies contained objectives related to human resource development, legal and regulatory framework, ICT governance and ICT industry. Although the first draft policy

had 13 commitments, these were clustered under thematic areas within the draft policies of 2006 and 2009. For instance, commitments on private sector support and export-oriented ICT industry in the 2003 draft policy were collapsed into one theme of ICT in industry in the subsequent draft policies. Similarly, commitments on promoting access to ICTs and information security and law in the 2003 policy were categorised under the focus area of governance in 2006 and 2009 draft policies (see Table 6.5). The purpose of the second and third draft policies was the same. This is not surprising because the NICTWG led policy formulation activities for the second and third draft policies. This may mean that the habitus of the NICTWG was the same in the two different fields.

6.6.2 Differences among the draft policies

There were also differences in the form of naming, structure and content of the policies. The draft policies in 2003, 2006 and 2009 carried different names as Malawi ICT Policy, Malawi National ICT4D Policy and National ICT Policy: An ICT-led Malawi respectively. The structure was also differentiated. The first draft in 2003 had four broad sections of background, policy statements, policy objectives and institutional framework. The second draft in 2006 also had four sections which included introduction, broad policy directions, thematic areas, and implementation arrangements. But the draft in 2009 had five sections of introduction, broad policy directions, policy thematic areas, policy statements and implementation arrangements.

On content, in 2003 government defined policy outcomes mainly as commitments while in the other two draft policies, outcomes were identified as themes. There were 13 commitments in the first draft policy, eight themes or focus areas in the second draft in 2006 and 10 themes in the third draft policy in 2009. The theme on gender and development and use of ICTs was only identified in the 2003 policy and not in the others. The theme on universal access only appears in the third draft policy. (See Table 6.5). This could mean that the focus area was included in the draft policy to justify the funding that MACRA received from the World Bank.

Furthermore, the draft policies in 2006 and 2009 were modelled on the basis of the first draft policy (Makoza & Chigona, 2013), which adopted the NICI framework. A respondent felt that the first draft ICT policy in Malawi was a replica of another country's national ICT4D policy. This is expressed in the quote: “[EA1] had written the ICT policy, based on [Country-1]; in the final analysis the first draft was a copy of [Country-1]” (PRIVATE-1).

Formulating the draft policy on the basis of another country's ICT policy may mean that the other country's policy may have influenced the policy in Malawi. This could be a form of external influence. The ITTF participated in the shaping of the first draft policy while the second and the third draft policies were the effort of the NICTWG. A comparison of content of the three draft policies is in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5: A comparison of the three draft policies

GoMICTP1	GoMICTP2	GoMICTP3
ICT human resource development	Human Capital (health and accelerated human development)	ICT in Human Capital Development
Institutional and legal framework	Legal and regulatory framework	Responsive ICT Legal and Regulatory Framework
Export-oriented ICT local industry	ICT industry (private sector support and export-oriented ICT industry)	ICT in Industries (export-oriented ICT industry, research and development and enabling environment for ICT)
Promoting Access to ICTs	Governance (E-Government, ICT security, and national security, law and order)	ICT in Governance (E-government, ICT security)
Information security and law	ICT infrastructure	ICT in Infrastructure Development
Enabling environment for ICT	Community	ICT in growth sectors (Agriculture sector, E-tourism and natural resources)
ICT Research and development	Strategic Leadership for ICT for development	Provision of Universal Access to ICT Services
Foreign direct investment drive in ICTs	Growth Sectors (Agriculture, E-tourism and natural resources)	Community Access to ICT
ICT standards and best practices		Strategic ICT leadership
Gender in development and utilisation of ICTs		Regional and International Integration
Enabling institutional framework		
Partnerships in implementation		
Private sector support	Consolidated under a theme on Local Industry	Addressed under ICT in Industries

There were focus areas in the draft policies that did not fit the country context. The focus area on export-oriented ICT industry under ICT in industries was not supported with the economic status of the country, which “relied mostly on imported raw materials” (Dzidonu, 2003, p.12) and foreign aid (Wroe, 2012) for survival. Yet this theme cut across all the three different draft policies.

6.6.3 *Similarities and differences in habitus, practices and capital in the draft policies*

The three draft policies presented both similarities and differences in the habitus, capital and practices of policy actors (see Table 6.6). The habitus of expecting financial incentives, interacting with other policy actors and controlling the process were common in all the three draft policy fields. The first two draft policy fields in 2003 and 2006 presented the habitus of seeking technical support in the formulation of the ICT policy. There was a change in the habitus in the third draft policy field in that policy actors did not seem to seek technical support from external actors. Some practices of policy actors were also common in all the draft policy-making fields. These practices included (i) readiness to participate; (ii) shaping ICT policy and (iii) overdependence on external aid.

Table 6.6 : Similarities and differences of habitus, capital and practices in the policies

	Draft ICT policy of 2003	Draft ICT policy of 2006	Draft ICT policy of 2009
Habitus	aligning policies with other goals; expecting financial incentives; interacting with other actors; controlling the policy process; omitting country challenges; seeking external technical support	expecting financial incentives; interacting with other actors; controlling policy process; seeking external technical support acknowledging policy challenges	expecting financial incentives; interacting with other actors; controlling policy process; acknowledging policy challenges
Practices	readiness to participate; consensual decision making; shaping ICT policy unwillingness to complete policy; deciding policy outcomes for context; overdependence on external aid	readiness to participate; consensual decision making; shaping ICT policy; unwillingness to complete policy; overdependence on external aid	readiness to participate; shaping ICT policy; overdependence on external aid
Capital	Cultural (skills); Social (NICI); Economic (funding); Symbolic	Cultural (skills); Social (NICI); Economic (funding); Symbolic	Cultural (skills); Social (NICI); Economic (funding) Symbolic (power)

6.7 Influence of policy actors in the field

The national ICT policy-making field was exposed to influences from both local and external actors between the years 2001 and 2009. Local actors influenced the process through political power, funding and domination in policy-making meetings. On the other hand, influences from

external actors were in the form of the NICI framework, policy ideas, financial support and technical support. These influences are summarized in Table 6.7.

GoM selected those who were to attend the policy-making meetings. Government through Cabinet occupied a position of power in the policy fields in 2006 and 2009. This was the most influential position in the context. The delay to launch the national ICT policy between 2001 and 2009 was due to lack of political will to approve the policy but also setting of a priority by the World Bank.

Table 6.7: A summary of influences from policy actors

Class of actors	Category of influence	Institution	Draft policy
Local actor	Political power	Cabinet	2006, 2009
	Funding	MACRA, DISTMS	2006, 2009
	Domination in meetings	MACRA	2006
External actor	NICI framework	UNECA	2003
	Funding	UNDP, UNECA, the World Bank	2003, 2006, 2009
	Technical support	UNECA	2003, 2006
	Policy ideas	NEPAD, regional grouping, other countries	2003, 2006, 2009

6.7.1 Influences of local actors

DISTMS, MACRA and Cabinet influenced the decisions of the policy network in different ways. DISTMS, an actor within the policy network, funded some of the policy activities. They accessed and occupied a position of influence within the field because of economic capital they brought to the fields. In addition, DISTMS controlled the policy-making process because of their role within the public sector. A few respondents felt that DISTMS occupied a position of influence in the policy-making field: “*DISTMIS provided secretariat and funding*” (PUBLIC-5).

In the second draft policy, DISTMS was given a prominent position in the policy space:

“The Ministry will be responsible for the provision of policy direction in ICT. The Ministry will also coordinate the implementation of the National ICT Policy through the Ministry’s department that is responsible for the development and utilization of ICTs. Currently the department is known as DISTMS. The ministry will also monitor and review policy implementation progress through a National ICT Working Group (NICTWG), the ministry will regulate policy implementation through MACRA” (GoMICTp.2 ,2006, p.35).

Through the second draft policy, DISTMS was to be mandated to guide use and implementation of ICTs in the policy. DISTMS was also recognised by some respondents as the main player:

“I think pre-2009 there was no E-government that time but in 2009 it was E-government [that led the process] and I remember then that the PS then for E-government a lady ...[who] was above the PS and she was the one who was mandated to develop the policy” (NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1).

Within the policy-making time frame, DISTMS changed its name to become E-government department under the Ministry of Information and Civic Education to underscore the importance of ICT in the country. Similarly, a top government official revealed the important role that DISTMS would play in the policy as:

“... it was pointed [out] that one of the shortfalls [noted by Cabinet] was on the issue of creating a Malawi Information and Communications Technology Agency (MICTA) of which the government has mandated the Department of Information Systems and Technology Management Services (DISTMS) to coordinate all issues that would have been done by MICTA as a secretariat” (NICTWG, p.1).

Thus, DISTMS was given the mandate to coordinate all issues pertaining to the draft ICT policy. In other words, DISTMS had some influence on the policy process.

Another local actor that had influence in the formulation of the ICT policy in Malawi was MACRA who provided funding to the field but also dominated the proceedings through attendance. One respondent felt that MACRA could have had some undue advantage because of the huge delegations they sent to meetings:

“MACRA could have dominated [policy proceedings] because they sent a huge delegation so could have dominated the process” (PRIVATE-3).

The same respondent further observed that MACRA became defensive during policy-making sessions as in *“there were cases where MACRA would be defensive”* (PRIVATE-3). The huge delegations could have given MACRA an edge over the other policy actors within the policy network.

Cabinet also influenced the policy-making process because of their position of power. The policy could only be endorsed after input from Cabinet. The draft policy in 2003 was not

reviewed by Cabinet resulting in the process stalling immediately after the document was produced. Cabinet was an actor outside the policy network but a key policy actor in the context.

The data showed that the first two draft policies were not presented to cabinet for approval. There was a view that senior government officials blocked the first draft policy from being presented while another view showed that changes in the political climate contributed to the stalling of the process. Both viewpoints seem to agree that cabinet did not approve the first two draft policies in 2003 and 2006. In other words, cabinet did not legitimate the policy-making activity (Birkland, 2015; Dye, 2013). Indeed, there was a change in political leadership in 2004 when a different leader took over the country's presidency (Patel & Wahman, 2014). This could help explain why the 2003 policy may not have been approved because politicians from ruling party assumed that it was wrong to implement ideas from a previous governing party.

There was a transition from one leader under which the 2003 draft policy was developed and the time the successor took office. However, this reason may not justify why the 2006 draft policy was not approved. The data also showed that during this presidency between 2004 to 2012, Malawi slowly became internationally and regionally isolated (Sihvonen, 2016). For example, the UK DFID, the US government and other donors suspended aid to Malawi (Wroe, 2012). This could suggest that the leadership may have not viewed a national ICT policy as critical and may have therefore settled to address other more pressing social issues such as lack of food security (World Bank, 2016).

6.7.2 Influences of external actors

6.7.2.1 NICI framework

The NICI framework was used in the formulation of the first draft policy. This was revealed by a number of respondents such as:

“What used to happen mostly was ...you would sit in a meeting, brainstorm. The consultant would brief you about how others [other countries] have done it like more of going through the template so you discuss, you brainstorm and fit whatever you are discussing there but most of the things were similar across countries and there would be cases whereby for the local meeting, you discuss but then what is discussed and what is captured may not necessarily match based on who is taking the notes so at the end of the day you end up with mostly the template which the consultant had and they

[government officials] would be the ones doing the final reports. So, yes token representations but in terms of final outputs mostly it was being consolidated by the consultant” (ACADEMIC-1).

This suggested that Malawi indeed used the NICI framework to draft its first ICT policy. However, most respondents also said that the framework was only used as a guide for developing the policy. The respondents mentioned that all the policy decisions came from the local actors. Other respondents such as STATUTORY-C3 and ACADEMIC-3 made a similar observation. Put in its simplest form, the local actors made the final decision on what policy objectives to include in the draft policy.

The first draft of the policy adopted the NICI framework, which was later discarded before the start of the next draft. Because the local actors occupied a position of power in the field, they decided to discard the draft policy that was modeled on the NICI framework. The local actors made the final decision on the policy framework to adopt. Other respondents felt that through use of the framework, the local actors were able to understand how to develop a national ICT policy such as:

“There was a template [NICI framework] that was made when we went in because they had a certain core group that participated in the drafting of the first draft unfortunately I wasn’t part of that core group but I remember that some members of the ICT association were part of that and then from there that’s when the first draft was released... as I mentioned the first draft of the core group working was shared with COMPANY-1 and it was also shared with the ICT association before we went into the workshop” (PRIVATE-2).

In this case, the framework was only used as a model. The ITTF still had the overall decision on what objectives to include in the policy. Put simply, the ITTF had the overall influence. Some respondents stated that the first draft policy was not finalised because it did not reflect the views of the society in Malawi. The respondents argued that the first draft was a replica of another country’s national ICT policy. NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1 felt that when the policy approach was changed from UNECA to national, that was time the nation made progress on the policy. This suggests that the first draft policy was the work of an external player.

When the structure and content of the three different policies are compared, it would appear that the first draft policy informed subsequent policies. Besides, some members of the policy

network that developed the first draft also participated in formulating the subsequent draft policies. This seems to suggest that the NICI framework influenced the national ICT policy in Malawi. The policy actors in the network subsequently developed skills in policy formulation. Hence, a positive outcome of the NICI framework.

6.7.2.2 Policy ideas from policy actors

Policy ideas from external actors played a role in shaping the policy field. Malawi learnt lessons from Rwanda and Kenya on the ICT policy formulation processes. Respondent PRIVATE-3 said that “*external influence made the policy possible, gone to Rwanda to learn so many times*”. This was in addition to policy ideas from external consultants such as EA1 and EA2 who made presentations during policy-making sessions. Several respondents observed that Uganda, Rwanda, Kenya, SADC and COMESA assisted in shaping the national ICT policy in Malawi. A respondent mentioned that: “*SADC and COMESA shared documentation on policy not that they supported the process*” (PUBLIC-5).

Although the local actors learnt from other players on the policy process, the final decision on what to include in the policy was with the local actors themselves. Hence, the policy network occupied some position of power in the field but this power was temporary. Beyond this field, the policy network did not have any influence.

6.7.2.3 Financial support

External actors provided funding for meetings in the policy-making field. UNDP and the World Bank provided funding on some occasions such as meetings for UNDP and Universal Access policy in the case of the World Bank. Some respondents attested to this as in:

“*UNDP funding participants only received allowances after the conference*” (PUBLIC-4) while “*the World Bank funded Universal Access policy*” (PRIVATE-3).

However, the external actors mostly did not attend policy proceedings which may mean that policy decisions reflected the local actors’ input. Most of the respondents agreed that decisions for the policy were made by consensus.

The World Bank, UNDP and UNECA funded policy-making activities within the period. Respondent PRIVATE-1 said that:

“a donor came and said there are issues of an ICT policy [so a donor came] and said we will fund it, hence Malawi did not own the policy”.

This respondent felt that Malawi was not ready for an ICT policy at the time but because a donor was willing to support the process, the country accepted to develop an ICT policy. Similarly, UNDP and UNECA supported the process through funding policy meetings as observed by one respondent who said that *“UNECA through UNDP played a role – paid for workshops and meetings, paid allowances”* (PRIVATE-4). This assertion is corroborated by another respondent, PRIVATE-4. The third draft policy in 2009 was sponsored by the World Bank as in the quote *“2009 draft policy and universal access policy [were] funded by the World Bank”*. (PUBLIC-5). However, PUBLIC-5 felt that the World Bank was only interested in the Universal Access policy and not the main ICT policy. Most respondents were in general agreement that despite donors providing financial support, decisions on policy outcomes were made by the local actors.

6.7.2.4 Technical support

Although some technical experts assisted with the drafting of the national ICT policy in Malawi, most respondents agreed that the external consultants merely made presentations during policy meetings while the local actors decided on content of the policy. Respondent PUBLIC-5 said that *“[EA2] from COMESA under ECA made a presentation on policy format, suggested compliance with international practice on standards”* but the decisions to adopt or not were made by consensus. This suggests that the local actors still occupied the field of power during the policy-making process.

External actors provided funding during the policy-making process. There was some technical support that external actors provided through recruitment of external consultants such as EA1 and EA2. However, these mostly came in the form of facilitators who made presentations before the core teams. Most respondents therefore mentioned that local actors did not have technical skills to develop policy resulting in the Malawi government calling for technical support. Generally, the respondents agreed that technical skills in ICT policy formulation was a serious challenge at the time. There was: *“admission the country did not have skills in policy formulation hence called for assistance”* (PUBLIC-4). The respondent reasoned that: *“expertise of technical consultant was critical since local actors had not gone through the process”* (PRIVATE-1).

However, a respondent from the private sector felt that there was no need for government to request for external technical support as it was felt that the private sector was already developing organisation-specific ICT policies at the time. The respondent felt that they “*did not believe the policy should have attracted an outsider*” (PRIVATE-1).

In summary, there were influences of external actors through the NICI framework, policy ideas, financial and technical support. However, these influences represented collaborative efforts during the policy process rather than power imbalances. The local actors were the ultimate authority on policy processes. They were responsible for making the final policy decisions. In other words, they shaped the resulting policy.

6.7.3 Summary on influences of actors

The first draft policy in 2003 did not go beyond the policy-making stage. However, the second and third draft policies were reviewed by Cabinet, which is the next level in the policy-making process in Malawi. The second draft policy, whose title was changed to ICT4D, was processed through to the next stage of the standard policy process in Malawi, but it was never approved by GoM. This draft policy was presented to Cabinet for approval but following observations from the Cabinet, the policy network was requested to review the content of the draft version. Similarly, the third draft policy was reviewed by Cabinet, but was also not launched until it was later modified.

External actors only facilitated the policy-making process through presentation of a blueprint for developing policies, provided funding and technical support but also made some suggestions in a form of policy ideas. Local actors in Malawi had the ultimate decision on what to include (or not) in the draft policies. But the government had the final position on the policy. The idea to base the policy on the template or blueprint was abandoned and the political power field made the final determination on the composition of the ICT policy.

6.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented findings pertaining to the formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi. The chapter has also exposed key issues from existing literature and reports using the concepts of Bourdieu’s ToP. The chapter examined how policy actors dominated in the three different fields of policy formulation using their different resources. The political field which did not appear to take the policy agenda further, affected the timely launching of the national ICT policy in Malawi. This political field had the ultimate power in approving the policy and

controlled the policy process. Some policy actors from the public sector occupied positions of power in the policy-making field due to the resources they brought to the field.

Although external actors such as the UNDP, COMESA, NEPAD and the World Bank funded and provided technical support during the policy-making process, overall they did not directly participate in the policy proceedings. The policy network interacted with both local stakeholders and external actors during the formulation of the draft policies particularly the first and the third draft policies. External actors in the field provided funding, technical support and policy ideas in the policy field. Through these influences, the external actors dominated the policy field. During formulation of the third draft policy, government chose loyalists to attend policy meetings with an aim of avoiding divergent views on the draft policies. This may have affected the outcome of the policy as it would be difficult to critique the appointing authority.

7 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

The primary goal of this research is to examine the effects of the influence of external actors on the formulation of a national ICT policy in developing countries. The previous chapter analysed the influences of external actors and how they affect policy formulation. This chapter attempts to answer the research sub-questions as outlined in Table 1.1 and the main research question of the study. The chapter discusses the findings in reference to Bourdieu's Theory of Practice as an explanatory theory for this research. Although the research question is about external actors, it became necessary for the researcher to dedicate some sections in this chapter to local actors to make the story complete since the external actors' actions depend on or interlink with the actions of the local actors. Further, the discussion of the local actors' issues helps to explain the behaviour of the external actors and how the local actors might have reacted to such behaviours.

This chapter is organised as follows: Sections 7.2 to 7.5 are dedicated to the three sub-questions. For purposes of validating the findings in the main case study, Section 7.6 discusses processes that were followed in developing national ICT policies and the resulting policy content in five comparable countries. It discusses the policy processes and policy content in relation to the influence of external actors in those countries. Section 7.7 discusses the main research question of the study. The last Section concludes the chapter.

7.2 Interactions among policy actors during policy formulation

This study sought to explain how the influence of external actors affects policy formulation. Influence is synonymous with power and control (Dahl, 1957) and the distribution of power among actors in a policy process is understood through their interactions (Borzel, 1998; Knoepfel et al., 2007). Moreover, analysis of Bourdieu's field activities deals with (1) identifying the relations of actors and (2) how the actors interact in the field (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014). Thus, it was imperative for the researcher to understand the interactions among policy actors to establish how the actors engaged each other during policy formulation. Engagement of actors in public policy making takes different forms, the most common being lobbying (Birkland, 2015), social networks (Gargiulo & Ertug, 2014), stakeholder involvement (Macintosh, 2004) and consultation (Coleman & Gøtze, 2002). The interactions among policy actors privileged the external actors in the policy making field compared to the local actors.

Policy actors interacted with each other through nested and overlapping fields. Local actors were situated in two fields: (i) policy making fields and (ii) the political field. Local actors from the policy network occupied the policy making fields while the cabinet occupied the political field. External actors, on the other hand, operated from the external actors' field. The three fields were nested within the broad policy formulation field of the country of policy formulation as illustrated in Figure 6.1. Although policy actors worked from different fields, external actors directly and indirectly interacted with the local actors in the policy network within the broad policy making field. However, there was no interaction between the external actors and the cabinet. An overview of the interactions is illustrated in Figure 7.1. The slanting straight line in Figure 7.1 is separating the actions of the external actors from those of the local actors.

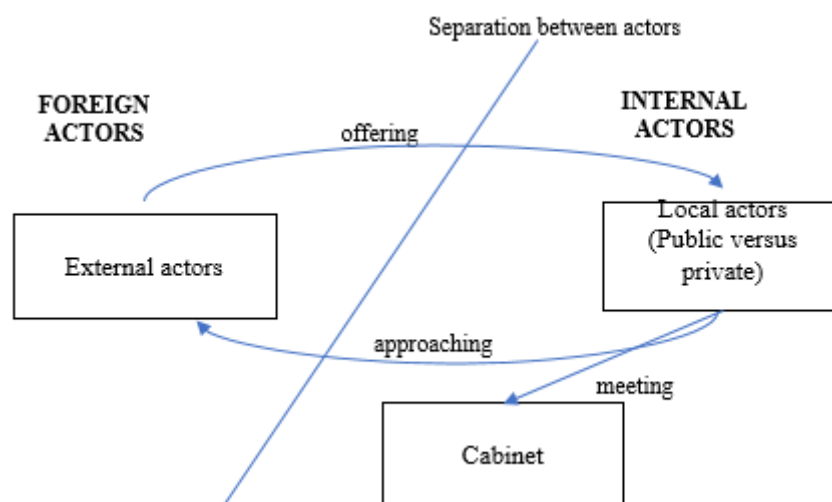


Figure 7.1 : An overview of interactions among internal and external actors

The next two sub-sections discuss the interactions of the policy actors in the different fields as illustrated in Figure 7.1 and how the actors interacted with each other during policy making.

7.2.1 Interactions among local actors during policy making

Interactions among local actors during the policy making process can be categorised into two:

- i. the interaction among local actors within the policy network;
- ii. the interaction between actors from the policy network and the cabinet in the political field.

A discussion of the two levels of interactions follows.

7.2.1.1 Interactions among local actors in the policy network

The policy network comprised local actors from the public and private sectors including NGOs. The interactions among local actors in the policy network showed that actors from the public sector and those from the private sector and NGOs worked together as one team in the policy making fields; i.e. they worked collectively to find solutions to a problem (Zittoun, 2014).

The interaction between public sector actors and actors from the private sector and NGOs revealed that the process took a consultative approach. They made policy decisions through consensus. Without the participation of the actors from the different sectors, their actions and the collective decisions, the policy making activity may not have been perceived as legitimate (Tsoukias et al., 2013). The involvement of all the actors in the policy process may have been a way of legitimising the policy process (Dye, 2013). It may be concluded that both public sector actors and the other actors engaged each other in the policy making field through consultations. The interaction between these actor groups is consistent with literature that public policy making is a participatory task in an ideal situation (Howlett et al., 2009). That is to say, policy making should involve various stakeholders to improve its level of acceptance but also the legitimacy of the decisions made by the policy actors (Macintosh, 2004).

7.2.1.2 Interactions between local actors in the policy network and cabinet

Local actors from the policy network engaged cabinet. The interaction between the cabinet and local actors from the policy network was through presentations of the draft policy in the political field. On two of the three attempts to develop the policy, local actors from the policy network interacted with the cabinet on the policy. However, the political field did not appear to show any urgency for the timely conclusion of the policy and consequently there was a delay in the approval of the policy.

The cabinet sent back the actors in the policy network a number of times to review the draft policy. This could have been due to the cabinet performing due diligence on the policy process. Alternatively, the absence of actors within the policy network with lobbying and interpersonal connections, which might be a symptom of lack of skills, could have created space for the cabinet to push the team back and forth and consequently protracting policy formulation. The policy was only approved in 2013. The policy may not have been a priority for the politicians.

The political field may not have seen the immediate benefits of implementing ICTs in the country.

Local actors' interactions in the broad policy making field favoured the cabinet rather than the policy network because of the authority (symbolic capital) that the cabinet possessed in the political field. The cabinet was the only authority to approve the policy. The political field possessed more symbolic capital than any other actor in the broad field to decide on the draft policy. The structure inherent in the Malawi policy process (as illustrated in Figure 5.1) gave the cabinet this authority which resulted in the postponement of the approval of the policy. The authority of cabinet in the political field limited the autonomy of the policy making fields (Iellatchitch, Mayrhofer, & Meyer, 2003). Simply put, the actions of the policy making fields were not independent of the forces of the political field. The cabinet postponed approval of the national ICT policy several times. It may be concluded that the cabinet did not have the political will to move the policy agenda forward. The stance of the cabinet agrees with literature that without political support there will be no policy (Dye, 2013).

7.2.2 Interactions between external actors and local actors during policy making

The interactions between external actors and local actors showed that the former overtly and covertly influenced formulation of the national ICT policy. The external actors presented the first draft policy they had developed on their own to the local actors in the policy making field. The external actors possessed the skill (cultural capital) in ICT policy formulation. Although external actors involved local actors in finalising the first draft policy, the involvement was to get the local actors to accept a cut-and-dry policy which had already been developed: "*The consultant ended up imposing the draft policy on the team*" (PRIVATE-3). This was overt influence. The external actors involved the local actors to rubber stamp the policy as most of the work had already been done by the externals. This contradicts the recommended practice that both external and local actors should interact during policy making as "each set of actors has resources, capacities and legitimacy" (Hellmüller, 2014, p.5) and where external actors work alone, their actions are "limited in scope, scale and sustainability" (Court, Mendizabal, Osborne, & Young, 2006, p.iv). This process may have contributed to the delay in approval of the policy and is consistent with literature that policies that were developed with little or no involvement of local actors were hardly implemented (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The policy may not have been perceived as legitimate as the external actors did not involve local actors in

the exchange of resources such as information and knowledge during its formulation (Tsoukias et al., 2013).

In addition, external actors covertly influenced policy formulation. Some actors from the public sector were funded by external actors to champion formulation of a Universal Access policy as a separate policy from the national ICT policy although the broad policy making field was not ready for the task. Funding (economic capital) was an indirect way by external actors to take part in policy making activities in the field (Bourdieu, 1986). The external actors lobbied the local actors to formulate the Universal Access policy. The action by the external actors contradicts literature that donors and partners should focus their efforts around “country-owned and defined objectives and expected results” instead of external actors’ objectives (Yizengaw, 2005, p.9).

A summary of the engagement between the external and local actors, which provided space to external actors to overtly and covertly influence policy formulation and in turn delay the approval of the policy, is illustrated in Figure 7.2.

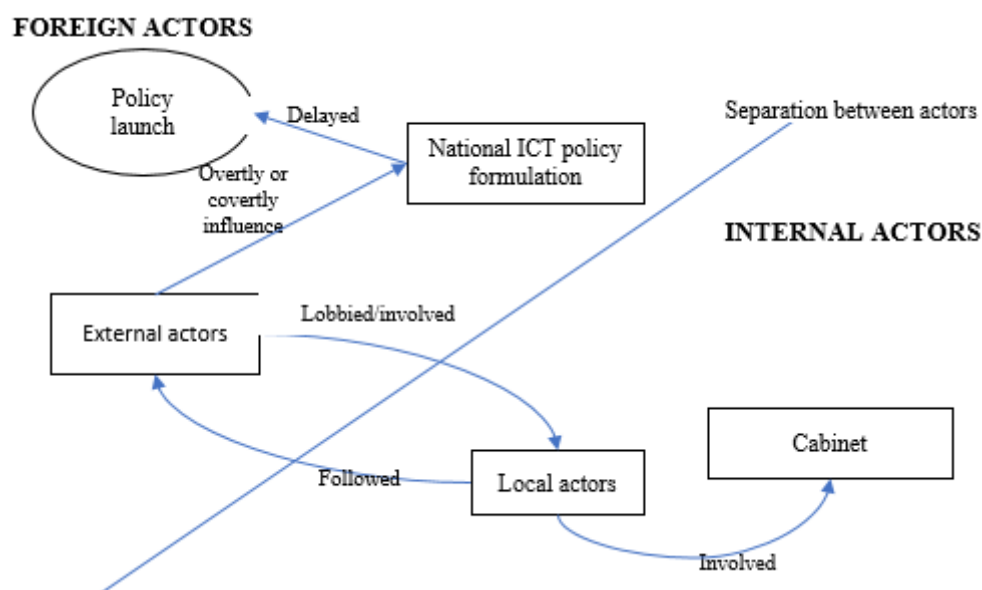


Figure 7.2: An illustration of the interactions of external and local actors in the policy field

This discussion leads to the proposition that:

- P1 *When external actors bring cultural and/or economic capital during formulation of a national ICT policy for a developing country, the external actors overtly and/or covertly influence formulation of the ICT policy and their actions contribute to a delay in the launch of the resulting policy*

7.3 Influence of policy actors in the policy making field

The national ICT policy making field was exposed to influences from both local and external actors. The influence of local actors may be categorised into number of actors, choice of participants and political power in policy making meetings. On the other hand, influences from external actors were in the form of promotion of the NICI framework and policy ideas including provision of financial support and technical support. These influences are summarised in Table 6.7. To ease readability of the document, this section focuses only on the influences of local actors and the influence of external actors is discussed in section 7.4.

Table 7.1: A summary of influences from policy actors

Class of actors	Category of influence	Institution	Version of draft policy affected
Local actors	Funding	MACRA, DISTMS	2006, 2009
	Number of actors	MACRA	2006
	Choice of policy participants	DISTMS	2003, 2006, 2009
	Political power	Cabinet	2009
External actor	NICI framework	UNECA	2003
	Funding	UNDP, UNECA, the World Bank	2003, 2006, 2009
	Technical support	UNECA	2003, 2006
	Policy ideas	NEPAD, regional grouping, other countries	2003, 2006, 2009

7.3.1 Influence of local actors in the policy making field

The degree of influence was dependent on the amount of capital that the local actors brought into the policy making field. Policy actors from the public sector may have influenced the policy process by (i) the large numbers of actors who participated in the policy network and (ii) their mandate to choose policy participants.

The number of public actors in the policy network was larger than that of the private and non-governmental actors combined. For example, at a policy meeting on 16th and 17th August 2006, 22 public sector actors against three actors from private sector and NGOs attended the meeting (GoM5, 2006). The public sector actors could have had an edge over the other actors in decision making in the field. Policy decisions in the policy making field were made through consensus. With the large numbers, public actors might have influenced policy decisions through the authority (symbolic capital) they possessed in the field (Bourdieu, 1993). The public sector actors possessed more symbolic capital than the other local actors in the network. This

symbolic capital may have afforded public actors some bargaining power in the field for the policy decisions in their favour (Dowding, 1995).

Furthermore, public sector actors could have influenced policy formulation through choice of policy participants. DISTMS, a public sector actor, selected participants to policy making meetings. DISTMS occupied a position of influence in the field. The power to choose who attended policy meetings gave DISTMS control over the composition of the policy network. Further, selection of which participants were to attend the meetings could have been a way of avoiding divergent views on the policy, a situation that may affect the quality of policy decisions (Ulrich & Chacko, 2005).

7.3.2 Influence of local actors in the broad policy making field

The main point for this sub-section is that the political field influenced the nature and process of the policy. The cabinet had the ultimate political power to approve the ICT policy despite the fact that they operated from a political field, which merely overlapped with the policy making field. The policy process that the government of Malawi follows (recall Figure 5.1) shows that the cabinet is the only authority in the country entrusted to approve a public policy. This was the most influential position in the policy process in the country and contributed to the delay in launching of the national ICT policy. Cabinet controlled the policy process.

7.4 Influence of external actors on the policy

The influence of external actors in the policy making field affected the Malawi policy formulation process in various ways. Through the different influences, external actors played roles which are the responsibility of local actors in an ideal situation. External actors used material possessions of funding, technical support, the NICI framework and policy ideas to overtly and covertly influence policy formulation. A summary of the roles played by external actors in the Malawi national ICT policy is in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Roles of external actors in the Malawi policy field vis-à-vis traditional roles

Category of influence	Forms of capital	External actor(s)	Roles of external actors
Funding	Economic capital	UNDP, COMESA, the World Bank	Setting the policy agenda Shaping the policy
Technical support	Cultural capital	External consultants	Setting policy priorities
		UNECA, UNDP and the World Bank	Facilitating entry of other external actors
NICI framework	Social capital	UNECA	Controlling of policy content
Policy ideas	Social capital	UNECA, Rwanda	Shaping of policy formulation

The sub-sections that follow discuss how each of the category of influence of the external actors affected the policy making field in the case study.

7.4.1 Provision of funding in the policy field

External actors' funding prompted the setting of the policy agenda in the case study. Funding, a form of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), was at two levels:

- (i) pre-policy formulation activities, and
- (ii) during policy formulation.

External actors funded pre-policy making activities in Malawi. The first activity was a survey that determined the level of computer usage across most public offices at national and district levels in the country. The second activity were a series of workshops which sensitised stakeholders on the importance of using the NICI framework in formulating the country's national ICT policy. These activities informed the policy agenda in the country. Problems in agenda setting may bring forth undesired effects for the policy process and policy outcomes (Fox et al., 2006). Through possession of economic capital in the broad policy making field, external actors set the policy agenda in the case study. This finding substantiates that external actors influence agenda setting in most developing countries (Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula, 2013). External actors may have valued funding pre-policy activities in the case study through which they covertly influenced policy formulation by informing agenda setting in the country. This is contrary to literature that agenda setting is the responsibility of government (Moran et al., 2006).

The reason why external actors may have been involved in setting the policy agenda could be that at the time most countries in the world were taking the information society agenda forward. In which case, global trends could have driven the country into formulating the policy. For example, while UNECA was pushing for ICT policy formulation in Africa through the AISI,

WSIS was hosting workshops on the information society around the same time. This was happening at a time Malawi might have had other priorities. These events could have caused the setting of the agenda in the case study. On the other hand, Malawi and other developing countries were not ready and technically capable to engage in policy formulation. Despite external actors providing funding (economic capital) in the policy making field, there were still delays in concluding the policy. As predicted, global events drove the country's ICT policy initiatives, this may mean that the country might not have been ready to have a national ICT policy at the time. This observation is consistent with literature that events and values may affect agenda setting in policy making (Considine et al., 2009). In the case of Malawi, external events prompted agenda setting in the case study. This discussion leads to the proposition that:

- P2 *When external actors provide economic capital to a country with limited economic capital at the time of formulating a national ICT policy, external actors' economic capital is likely to influence setting of the country's policy agenda in the policy making field*

7.4.2 Provision of technical support in the policy field

External actors' technical support in the policy making field enhanced the knowledge and skills of local actors in public ICT policy making (cultural capital) but also contributed to the delay in passing of the national ICT policy in Malawi. External actors recruited international consultants to provide technical support in the formulation of the national ICT policy in the case study. The consultants drafted the first national ICT policy and sought ideas from the policy network. Later, local actors abandoned this draft policy and instead used a local approach to formulate the country's ICT policy. Therefore, it can be assumed that provision of technical support may have positively assisted the local actors to gain some cultural capital in public policy making. This finding leads to the proposition that:

- P3 *When a policy network with limited cultural capital participates in the development of a national ICT policy championed by a technical expert, overtime the policy network develops cultural capital in the policy making field*

External actors' technical support in the policy making field caused some delays in the approval of the national ICT policy in Malawi. There were three different draft ICT policies in the context (see Table 5.9). Each covered a period of three years. At the request of the government, external actors recruited foreign consultants to provide technical support in the first draft policy

field between 2001 and 2003. However, local actors abandoned this draft policy and adopted a local approach to policy formulation. The abandonment of the policy developed by the external consultants deferred conclusion of the policy. The external actors' technical support in the policy making field led to the abandonment of the policy and deferred the approval of the policy. This is consistent with literature that national ICT policies that were developed by experts who rarely involved local stakeholders during the policy process were subsequently abandoned (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The discussion leads to the proposition that:

- P4 *When external actors provide technical support in a policy formulation field in which a policy network with limited cultural capital is not actively involved, provision of the technical support contributes to delays in the approval of the policy*

7.4.3 Promotion of the NICI framework

Promotion of the NICI framework in the policy making field gave space to external actors to covertly influence the structure and content of the policy but also provided the policy network with an opportunity to develop knowledge and skills in public policy formulation. The NICI framework has been identified as a form of external influence in previous research (Chiumbu, 2008; Metfula, 2013). There were different viewpoints among the respondents about the blueprint that it:

- was imposed on the local actors;
- may not have been necessary because local actors from private sector had already formulated organisational ICT policies;
- was appropriate because of a shortage of knowledge and skills.

The first view was that the blueprint was imposed on the local actors and in some cases, it was named after the consultant who developed it. This view may have led to the abandonment of the draft policy in favour of a national approach to policy making, a situation which could have contributed to the delay in the launch of the policy as the process had to restart in the second policy making field (See Table 7.3).

The second view, that the blueprint may not have been necessary, came from local actors from the private sector. These actors argued that they had already developed ICT policies for their organisations prior to this policy making activity and saw no need for adopting the blueprint

for developing the national ICT policy. This view fails to appreciate that organisational and national ICT policies are at different levels. National ICT policies, which are at macro-level, are complex and serve the citizens of a country through public institutions (Dye, 2013) while organisational policies are at micro-level and deal with “improving firms” and the networks of firms that have strong externalities (Altenburg, 2010, p.11). Micro-level policies, at a lower level, are created from macro-level policies (Johnson, 2013). The skills perfected at one level may not be transferrable to another level of policy making. This view agrees with literature that policy actors “attach different meanings to policy proposals according to their own beliefs, values, norms, and life experiences” (Smith & Larimer, 2009, p.42).

The third view, which was largely supported, acknowledged that there was a shortage of knowledge and skills in the field to develop a national ICT policy. This view backed the admission that the policy network possessed limited cultural capital in the field at the start of the policy making activity.

The different viewpoints may have affected policy formulation, with those in support accepting to continue with the process and those against blocking it. Although the blueprint was abandoned in favour of a localised approach to policy formulation, the content and structure of the final policy remained that of the blueprint (refer to Table 5.10). Promotion of the blueprint in the policy making field gave space to external actors to covertly influence the content and structure of the final policy. The action of the external actors is contrary to literature that discourages provision of cut-and-dry policies by international organisations to developing countries (Amoretti, 2007). This discussion leads to the proposition that:

- P5 *When external actors promote a blueprint in a policy making field in which a policy network takes part and the policy network subsequently abandons the resulting policy using a local approach, the final policy adopting the local approach retains the structure and content of the blueprint*

Further, despite the negative effect of the blueprint on the final policy, external actors’ promotion of the framework provided the local actors in the policy network a platform for developing knowledge and skills in policy formulation. The policy network abandoned the draft policy that was developed based on the blueprint in favour of a local approach and worked alone. The policy network may have gained knowledge and developed skills (cultural capital) in the policy field through their participation during the development of the first draft policy,

which used the NICI framework. The local actors were not officially trained on public policy formulation. It may be concluded that their participation in the first policy making field, which used the NICI framework, equipped the local actors with cultural capital to develop a public ICT policy. The NICI framework had a positive effect. This finding is supported in literature that participation of actors in public policy making “enhances the knowledge and values basis of policy-making” but also “initiates a process of social learning” (Abels, 2007, p.103). (See Table 7.2). These empirical observations lead to the proposition that:

- P6 *When external actors promote a blueprint and a policy network takes part in the development of a policy, overtime the policy network develops cultural capital in the formulation of a public ICT policy*

7.4.4 Promotion of policy ideas during policy making

Policy ideas from external actors shaped the national ICT policy in Malawi and made the national ICT policy possible. The policy network voluntarily visited other countries within Africa in search of policy ideas, which was a form of benchmarking. This approach is consistent with literature that policy makers should consider benchmarking policies that have been successful within their own regions or similar countries and customise the policies to address the nation’s unique situations (Ulrich & Chacko, 2005). One of the countries the policy network visited was Rwanda, a country that has been successful in formulation of its national ICT policy based on the blueprint. Benchmarking policy ideas from other countries shaped the content of the policy in the field and enabled the policy in the case study. This is supported in literature that policy ideas sought through a voluntary search may result in some intended consequence (Chiumbu, 2008). In the case of Malawi, the searching of policy ideas made the policy possible, which is a positive effect. This discussion leads to the proposition that:

- P7 *When it is in the habitus of a policy network to voluntarily search for external policy ideas during formulation of a national ICT policy, the policy ideas become learning points for the policy network and enable the policy*

7.4.5 Summary of the influence of external actors

In summary, two of the four categories of the influence of external actors had both positive and negative effects (See Table 7.3). The blueprint and policy ideas provided the policy network with a platform for learning, which was a positive effect. The NICI framework provided the policy network a platform for developing knowledge and skills in policy formulation.

Similarly, policy ideas shaped the content of the policy in the context and led to the approval of the policy afterwards. However, both the blueprint and policy ideas from external actors also contributed to some delays in the launch of the policy.

Table 7.3: A summary of influences and consequences

Category of influence	Effect or consequence	Description of the effect or consequence
NICI framework	Enhanced knowledge and skills in policy formulation	Local actors developed subsequent draft policies based on this blueprint
	Caused delay in concluding policy	Led to abandonment of policy draft and delayed approval of policy
Funding	Set the policy agenda	External actors controlled and set the policy agenda
Technical support	Developed knowledge and skills in policy formulation	Local actors developed skills in policy formulation through involvement of an external consultant in the policy process
Policy ideas	Enabled national ICT policy	Local actors learnt from external actors on policy process
	Caused delay in launching policy	Delayed launching of the policy

External actors' funding triggered agenda setting despite it being a task of more than one category of actors, which was not a desirable outcome but also a responsibility of government. However, technical support yielded some positive effect in the case study. The policy network developed cultural capital from the first draft policy field in which the external consultant dominated with his skills. An illustration of the effects of the influences is in Figure 7.3.

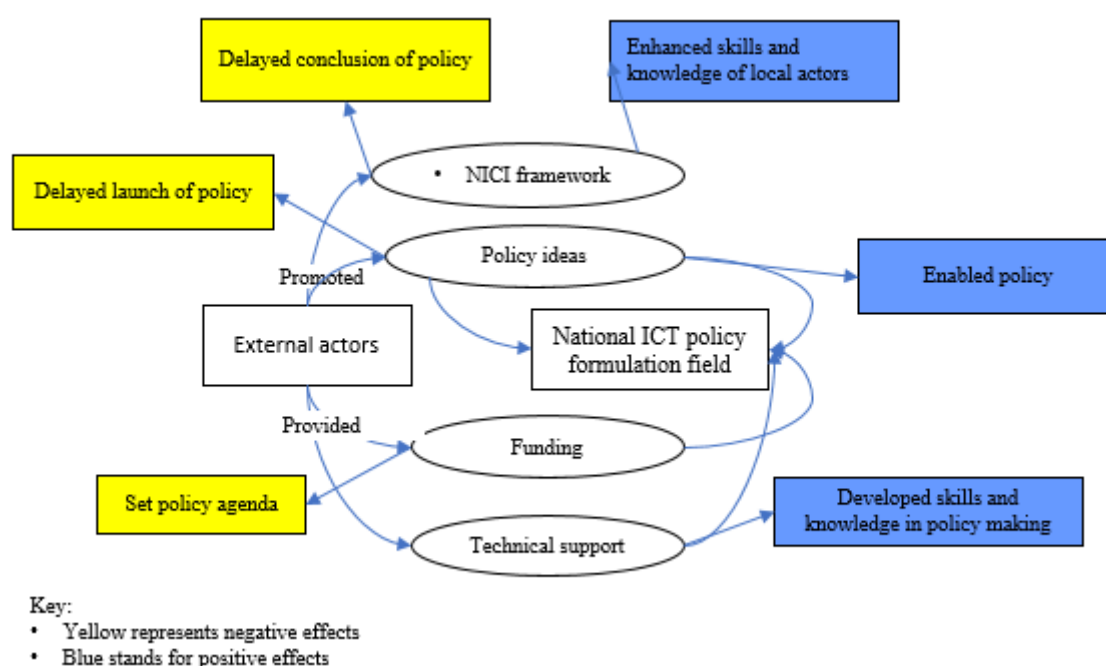


Figure 7.3: An illustration of the influences of external actors and their effects

7.5 Nexus between country context and influences of external actors in policy formulation

Limited economic, cultural and social capital in the context provided external actors with an opportunity to play other roles such as setting policy priorities, setting the policy agenda and shaping the design of the resulting policy. Sub-section 7.5.1 revisits the context in Chapter 5 and it is included in this Section to put the discussion into context. The next sub-section discusses how the country context affected the way external actors influence formulation of a public ICT policy.

7.5.1 The Malawi country context (revisited)

At the start of the policy making activity, Malawi government approached donors for financial and technical assistance. The action of the government may confirm that the country did not have sufficient capital in public ICT policy making. Details of Malawi indicators in Table 5.2 show that the country's economic, social and cultural profile could be a recipe for external actors' intervention (Birdsall, 2007). For example, it is claimed that "the World Bank is concerned with promoting growth and reducing poverty in the developing world" (Stiglitz, 1999, p.2). The country's profile was characterised by high levels of poverty, high illiteracy levels and a high population growth rate. External actors could have taken advantage of these attributes to influence policy formulation.

7.5.2 Effects of the influence of external actors on the Malawi context

The external actors' possession of material resources in the policy making field became a means for the actors to play other roles such as setting policy agenda and setting policy priorities. Section 7.4 established that the overt and covert influence of external actors in the broad policy making field negatively and positively affected policy formulation. This section discusses how the context of a country affects the influence of the external actors.

7.5.2.1 Effect of country context on external actors' funding

Funding for the formulation of the Malawi ICT policy originated from two fronts:

- (i) government's request to external actors for funding, and
- (ii) an offer from external actors to provide funding for policy formulation.

At the start of the policy making activity, the government requested donors for technical and financial support. There was “*a request for technical support and funding [for policy formulation activities] from Malawi government to SADC including the World Bank*” (PUBLIC-2). External actors provided funding for pre-policy and policy formulation activities. It may be recalled from Chapter 5 that Malawi has been dependent on foreign aid year-in and year-out for budgetary support (Fagernäs & Roberts, 2004; Mkamanga, 2018; Wroe, 2012) in spite of literature showing that foreign aid has debilitating effects on recipients (Goldsmith, 2001; The Malawi Nation, 2018; Ngwanya, 2018). External actors may have taken advantage of the country’s practice of over-dependence on foreign aid to influence policy formulation. As it has been shown before, funding for pre-policy activities gave space for external actors to set the policy agenda, which traditionally is a role of government (Moran et al., 2006). This finding shows that external actors’ funding (economic capital) triggered agenda setting as a result of limited economic capital in the context. Funding may have given external actors power to control the policy process and is in line with literature that power is “exercised over individuals and groups by offering them things they value” such as “wealth and material possessions” (Harrison, 2011, p.19).

External actors also funded focus areas and ICT projects, which were not policy objectives for the country at the time. For instance, the World Bank funded formulation of a Universal Access policy, which was not part of the government’s policy agenda. The World Bank also funded ICT related projects prior to the finalisation of the national ICT policy. The data showed that “*poverty played a role; projects were initiated before completion of the national ICT policy but this was due to donor dependency*” (PRIVATE-3). External actors set policy priorities for the country, a practice that is discouraged in literature (Chiumbu, 2008). At the time of developing the ICT policy, Malawi was experiencing economic challenges such as severe poverty and heavy dependence on donor assistance (Dzidonu, 2002b). Setting policy priorities for such a country may overburden the government to set aside economic capital on projects that may not be sustained or cannot be implemented (Altenburg, 2010). This action of external actors is contrary to recommendations that donors and partners should focus their efforts around “country-owned and defined objectives and expected results” (Yizengaw, 2005, p.9). The country’s limited economic capital gave space for external actors play roles of the local actors in the context.

7.5.2.2 *Effects of blueprint, technical support and policy ideas on country context*

External actors in the case study promoted the NICI framework. Initially, local actors accepted the framework. There was admission that the country had limited cultural capital in policy formulation and that it was appropriate to adopt the blueprint: “[*We were*] *not re-inventing the wheel and therefore the consultant used the template [NICI framework] to develop the ICT policy*” (PRIVATE-3). However, local actors later abandoned this framework in favour of a local approach. It may be that the framework was too complex for the local actors due to limited cultural capital. As shown before, the final policy that was developed based on the local approach retained the structure and content of the NICI framework. The promotion of the blueprint by external actors shaped the structure and content of the ICT policy. This is contrary to literature that discourages use of blueprints during development of a public ICT policy as it may be a recipe for failure, and may result in the policy being insignificant (Ciborra & Navarra, 2005).

Technical assistance in the field was necessitated following the local actors’ habitus of seeking external technical support from external actors (see Figure 6.2). Government requested for technical assistance. This could have been a form of acknowledging that the local context had limited cultural capital in policy formulation: “*External technical support [during policy formulation] was necessary [because we did not have the expertise/experience]*” (ACADEMIC-2); there was “*admission that the country did not have skills in policy formulation hence the country called for external technical assistance*” (PUBLIC-5). However, local actors lacked commitment in the process: “*Most local actors did not participate in policy meetings but rather they attended*” (ACADEMIC-2); “*Seventy percent of ICT task force members were not committed, their focus was on allowances*” (PRIVATE-3). External actors took advantage of the limited cultural capital in the context and developed the first policy with little or no stakeholder involvement although it is on record that “the pattern of technical change of each country depends to a good extent on the national capabilities in mastering ... crucial knowledge areas” such as information technologies (Cimoli, Dosi, Nelson, & Stiglitz, 2006, p.6). The stance taken by the external actors is consistent with literature that national ICT policies that were developed with little or no stakeholder involvement were hardly implemented (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The abandonment of the first draft policy may be attributed to lack of involvement.

External actors presented standards and policy ideas in the context which the local actors fully adopted in the policy. Local actors also voluntarily sought policy ideas from other countries such as Rwanda. The presentation of and the voluntary search for the standards and ideas policy ideas may have been a way of confirming that there was limited capacity in the context. The “*policy initiatives in Malawi are driven by events on ICT policies in other countries*” (PUBLIC-5). Standards and policy ideas, a form of social capital, shaped the final policy (Bourdieu, 1986). This finding is contrary to recommendations that “‘Best practices’ or reforms that are imposed on a country ... may very well fail to produce lasting change” (Stiglitz, 2002, p.163).

In summary, insufficient economic, social and cultural capital in the context affected the influence of external actors during policy formulation in the case study. External actors used their economic, social and cultural capital to play other roles such as agenda setting, setting policy priorities and shaping the policy content in the case study. (See Figure 7.4). These roles are the responsibility of local actors (Yizengaw, 2005). This discussion leads to a proposition that:

- P8 *When the context of a country is characterised by limited economic, social and cultural capital during formulation of a national ICT policy then external actors play other roles in the context that result in unintended policy outcomes than the tradition of providing funding and technical support*

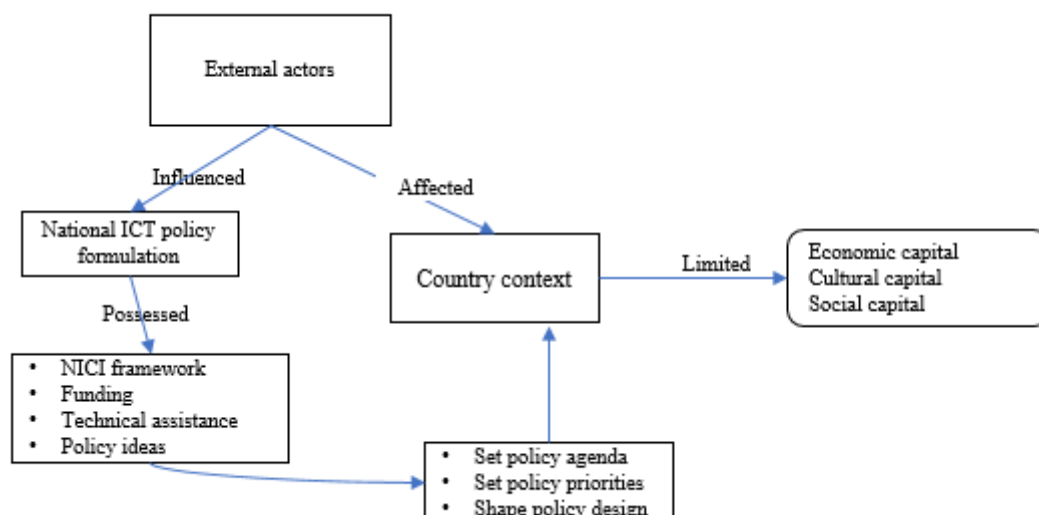


Figure 7.4: An illustration of the nexus between country context and influence of external actors

7.6 Comparison of influence of external actors on public ICT policies in different contexts

This section consolidates findings from four developing countries (see Appendix 10) and discusses similarities and differences in the way the countries: (i) approached the policy process in the development of the national ICT policy; and (ii) structured the content of the formulated policies in comparison with the main case study. In considering the policy process, Table 7.4 summarises the approach, duration and policy networks of each country in policy making and Table 7.7 is a summary of the content of the policy for the different case studies.

Table 7.4: A summary of similarities and differences on the policy process of study countries

Country	Approach	Duration	Period	Policy network
Malawi	NICI approach, reactive, techno-centric later user-centric although still largely techno-centric, highly consultative engaged stakeholders	More than 10 years	2001-2013	Consisted of ICT experts at first but later changed to accommodate other disciplines such as banking
Botswana	Organic approach, proactive benchmarked the process with comparable countries, user-centric, highly consultative	Within three years	2005-2007	Experts from different focus areas involved
Ghana	NICI approach, reactive, user-centric	Within three years	2003-2005	Involved stakeholders from academic, civil society, international organisations, donors, and the general public
Rwanda	NICI approach, reactive, user-centric	Within three years	1998-2000	Steering committee composed of various actors in different disciplines
South Africa	Organic approach, proactive, user-centric, benchmarked policy ideas from WSIS, in later years citizens were engaged to provide input to the policy	Within two years but mostly standalone policies were completed in less than two years	1996-1999	Presidential National Commission on the Information Society and Development led the process

7.6.1 Policy process in the case study countries

All the case studies followed the standard policy process (see Figure 2.4), albeit with slight differences.

7.6.1.1 Policy approaches adopted

External actors covertly influenced agenda setting in Malawi, Ghana and Rwanda. These countries adopted the NICI framework in the formulation of the countries' national ICT policies. The framework has been identified as a form of overt influence of external actors. These countries appear to have been reactive as there was little evidence to show that they intended to develop national ICT policies prior to the external intervention. The countries' policies were the effort of influence of external actors despite literature exposing that national ICT policies that were mostly influenced by external actors were hardly implemented (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). In an ideal situation, policy making is a participatory activity whose benefits may include (i) taking ownership of the overall policy, and (ii) initiating a process of social learning (Howlett et al., 2009). In the case of Malawi, there was no evidence to suggest that the local actors took overall ownership of the policy.

Policy processes in Botswana and South Africa were initiated in-country through benchmarking local activities against ICT initiatives in other comparable countries. Botswana and South Africa identified countries that had successfully been on a path of digital transformation in earlier years as benchmarks. This finding is in accordance with literature which encourages policy makers to consider benchmarking policies that have been successful within their own regions or similar countries and customise the policies to address the nation's unique situations (Ulrich & Chacko, 2005). Both countries followed an incremental approach to policy making. Although there was some level of influence of external actors through the benchmarks, the two countries were proactive in the policy making process implying that they set their own policy agenda.

7.6.1.2 Political leadership during policy making

The Malawi national ICT policy was developed during the reign of three different political leaders compared to the other case studies where the policies were formulated under one head of state. Leadership changes may affect the policy process. At some point, the Malawi ICT policy was not taken to cabinet stage (see Figure 5.1) for approval because of politicians' belief that it is wrong to implement ideas from a previous governing party. Thus, the change in political leadership could have caused some delays in approval of the ICT policy. This finding agrees with literature that where there are conflicting interests in policy making,

misconceptions may lead to policy documents that are full of tension (Kean-Wah & Ming, 2010).

When an opportunity arose to present the policy to cabinet in Malawi, the policy process went back and forth between the policy network and cabinet compared to the other case study countries, which may be in conformity with the iterative nature of public policies in an ideal situation. This iterative process supports literature that policy making is ongoing and recurring, consisting of interactive and iterative policy processes (Wildavsky, 1987; Howlett et al., 2009; Sabatier, 1991) and gives the impression that Malawi may have undertaken its policy process in a proper way. However, the policy process in Malawi was convoluted and spanned over 10 years compared to the processes in the other countries, which were completed within three years.

7.6.1.3 Engagement between external and local actors during policy making

In Malawi, both cabinet and external actors influenced the policy network. There was no direct engagement between cabinet and external actors. The policy network was in the middle of these two forces. The strength of the policy network in Malawi could have played a role in accommodating influences from both cabinet and external actors. Compared to the other case studies, the Malawi policy network could have been weak mainly for comprising officials not in top positions in government. The case was different for the other countries. For example, in Rwanda, the president championed the policy process and appointed a high-level committee which consisted of various stakeholders including users in senior positions in the private sector but also from the public sector. This committee steered the policy process and was accountable to the president. In Malawi, a technocrat heading a line Ministry at the time led the policy process and reported to a Permanent Secretary (PS) at a level below a minister. This position of the technocrat or even the PS was not senior enough compared to those who championed the process in the other case studies. The policy network did not seem to have any political links with cabinet but also may not have been at a level senior enough to deal with actors at the level of donors. The team could have been subjected to push-pull factors from external actors and cabinet (Kim, Lee, & Klenosky, 2003), implying that there were influences from both actors.

7.6.1.4 Composition of the policy network

The first policy network in Malawi was composed of ICT experts. This network could have taken a techno-centric approach and overlooked the social factors of a policy in favour of technology aspects during policy formulation. The policy network that drove policy formulation in the second and third draft policy making fields was a mix of actors from different disciplines, which included banking, law and engineering. The findings in these two fields showed that the majority of the actors in the network were from the public sector. Policy decisions in the policy making field could have favoured the government side due to their numerical strengths compared to the rest of society. The final policy document was government's agenda: "*Government pushed the agenda its own way. The current policy is not a reflection of [what] the community [agreed]*" (NON-GOVERNMENTAL-1); "*The final policy was [is] not a reflection of stakeholders' input*" (PRIVATE-4). This implies that the policy privileged government against the wishes of society which is contrary to literature that proposes that policy is the work of all actors (Howlett et al., 2009).

The policy networks of Botswana, Ghana and Rwanda were a mixture of ICT specialists and experts from other disciplines. These countries adopted a user-centric approach to policy making. In Botswana, the policy network involved experts from various disciplines such as education, health and business. In contrast, South Africa took a slightly different approach in which they engaged citizens through public hearings to solicit ideas for the policy. Thus, the general public played a role in shaping the policy. Overall, the policy processes in all the case studies were broadly participatory involving high-ranking and low-ranking stakeholders resulting in a mixture of outcomes for the policy. The participatory approach may imply that governments recognised capabilities from different sectors of society such as banking, engineering, education and health and reflects literature that policy making is a participatory activity (Abels, 2007). While the policy networks involved top politicians and senior officials from the other case studies, Malawi mostly used actors in middle management positions. This arrangement could have negatively affected the policy activities in the country.

7.6.1.5 Economic status of the case countries during policy making

The economic situation in Malawi and Rwanda was not conducive to policy formulation at the time compared to the other countries. These countries had been heavily reliant on foreign aid compared to the other case studies (see Appendix 10). Development of a national ICT policy

may not have been a priority in these two countries. However, Rwanda made strides in the policy process compared to Malawi. This situation may be attributed to the differences of political will rather than the economic situation alone considering that Rwanda was not better than Malawi economically at the time (as in Appendix 10). Table 7.4 is a summary of the processes that the different case studies followed.

In all the case studies, the governments pushed the agenda to the general public, which was a top-down approach to policy making. The top-down approach adopted in all the case studies is in conflict with literature, which reveals that the top-down method ignores other equally important actors such as those from other sectors because the decision is mainly from a public authority (Sabatier, 1986).

7.6.1.6 Policy formulation timeframe

This section seeks to explore factors which might have influenced the timeframe for formulating the policies. We specifically explored the impact of the approach and of donor dependence. Among the countries that adopted the NICI framework, Ghana and Rwanda completed their policy processes within a shorter timeframe than the process in Malawi which went on for more than 10 years. Likewise, the processes in Botswana and South Africa were completed within three years and these countries adopted the incremental approach to policy making (see Table 7.5). The discussion in this section may be expressed in a form of two dimensions: (i) policy approach and (ii) timeframe of the policy process.

Table 7.5: Policy approach and timeframe of the policy process

POLICY APPROACH	TIMEFRAME OF THE POLICY PROCESS	
	Within 3 years	More than 3 years
NICI framework	Ghana, Rwanda	Malawi
Incremental approach	Botswana, South Africa	

The countries that adopted the NICI framework were, to a large extent, over-dependent on foreign aid (see Appendix 10). External actors could have imposed the framework on the countries due to this aid dependence. Over-dependence on foreign aid is discouraged in literature as it “is not meant to ensure recipients become self-reliant since if it is the case, powerful states can no longer brag about who is giving more than the other” (Andrews, 2009).

When timeframe in the policy process is compared against dependence on foreign aid among the case studies, the results in Table 7.6 show that the Malawi case study was both over-dependent on foreign aid but also that its policy process was protracted.

Table 7.6 : Timeframe in policy process and foreign aid dependence between 1990 and 1995

TIMEFRAME	FOREIGN AID DEPENDENCE	
	Over-dependence on foreign aid	Low foreign aid dependence
Within three years	Rwanda, Ghana	Botswana, South Africa
More than three years	Malawi	

Table 7.5 suggests that among countries which adopted the NICI framework in the development of national ICT policies, Malawi was the only country whose process took longer than three years. On the other hand, Table 7.6 implies that countries with limited economic capital were largely exposed to external influences while the countries that had high levels of economic capital relied less on external support. The data in this section shows that neither policy formulation approach nor the level of donor dependence can explain the extended timeframe Malawi took to finalise the ICT policy.

The data has shown that the delay in approving the Malawi ICT policy may be attributed to lack of political will. Limited political capital in the broad policy making field may have affected approval of the policy and agrees with literature that the structural, political, economic and social environment of a country may affect the way policies are formulated (Birkland, 2015). This discussion leads to a proposition that:

- P9 *When a country has limited economic and political capital in the formulation of a national ICT policy, the policy formulation process may result in unintended policy outcomes*

7.6.2 Policy content of case study countries

Much of the content of national ICT policies in Malawi, Botswana, Ghana and Rwanda was similar. The most common focus areas included ICTs in government, education, infrastructure, industry and communities (See Table 7.7). However, apart from South Africa, the other case studies adopted the NICI framework to developing the countries' national ICT policies. Botswana should have presented a structure similar to South Africa since these two countries adopted an incremental approach to policy formulation (Adam & Gillwald, 2007) but on the contrary it was similar to the countries that adopted the NICI framework. Botswana's policy structure and content could have adopted some elements of the NICI framework considering that the country undertook a survey to benchmark its national ICT policy against other countries that had been successful in deploying ICTs. It may have transpired that one or some of the benchmarked countries may have adopted a framework similar to the NICI plan. The content of the South African national ICT policy was initially focused on blocks such as

telecommunications, postal and broadcasting as individual policies but later the country adopted an integrated approach to developing policy content in favour of the silo approach. It may be argued that the policy content in South Africa subsequently followed a pattern similar to the NICI framework. These similarities in policy content may mean that external actors played a role in influencing the content and structure of the national ICT policies in all the case studies.

Countries that adopted the NICI framework had some focus areas that were unique compared to the other case studies. For example, ICT standards and best practices was a standalone focus area in the content of the case studies of Malawi, Ghana and Rwanda while standards and best practices cut across the different focus areas in the content of the Botswana and South African national ICT policies. The overall policy objective of Malawi lacked milestones of how the objective could be achieved compared to the objectives of the other case studies which were action-oriented activities (See Table 7.7). For example, the Malawi policy objective that starts with ‘contribute’ does not clearly show how the policy objective will be turned into reality compared to ‘create’ in the case of Botswana, which might result into a clear milestone.

Table 7.7: A summary of similarities and differences in policy content among case study countries

Malawi	Botswana	Ghana	Rwanda	South Africa
POLICY GOAL				
Contribute to the attainment of aspirations of the Vision 2020, objectives of the Malawi Science and Technology Policy, and Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy paper	Create an enabling environment for the growth of an ICT industry in the country	Engineer an ICT-led socio-economic development process with the potential to transform Ghana into a middle income, information-rich, knowledge-based and technology driven economy and society	Achieve broad socioeconomic development objectives within the Vision 2020 time frame of 20 years	Attain specific objectives in relation to telecommunications, postal and broadband focus areas
FOCUS AREAS				
Human resource development		Human Resource Development	Human Resource Development	
ICTs in Government	ICTs in Government	ICTs in Government	Governance	e-Government
ICTs in Education	ICTs in Learning	ICTs in Education	ICTs in Education	e-Education policy
ICT infrastructure development	ICT Infrastructure	ICT Infrastructure	ICT Infrastructure development	Telecommunications Policy; Infrastructure
Export oriented ICT industry; Export-Oriented ICT Products	ICTs in the Marketplace and ICT Sector	ICT Industry; Export-Oriented ICT Products	ICT Industry	e-Commerce policy; ICT industry growth
ICT in communities; Promoting Access to ICT	Homes and Communities	ICTs in the Community	ICT in communities	Postal policy; Broadcasting policy; Universal access
Institutional and legal frameworks	ICT-enabling Legislation	Legal, Regulatory Framework	Legal, Regulatory Framework	Institutional frameworks
Foreign and Local Direct Investment		Foreign and Local Direct Investment		
	Healthcare	Health		
		ICT Security		
Research & Development		Research & Development	Research & Development	Research & Development
		ICTs in Agriculture		
		ICT Hub	ICT Hub	ICT innovation
Gender in development and use of ICT			ICT Specialist Institutions	
ICT standards and best practices		International standards and best practices	Best practices & standards	

7.7 Effects of influence of external actors on formulation of a public ICT policy

The thesis examined how the influence of external actors affects formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries. To achieve this overarching objective, the study analysed how local and external actors engage with each other during policy formulation and how categories of the influence of external actors affect the policy making activity in the context of Malawi. The study also examined how the context of a developing country affects the influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy. The study revealed several unexpected behaviours of external actors leading to the conclusion that the influence of external actors in the formulation of the national ICT policy in the context generally affected the resulting policy negatively (see Table 7.8).

Table 7.8: A summary of how external actors' intervention violated recommended practice

Recommended practice	How external actors violated recommend practice
Both external and local actors should interact during policy making	Made presentations on 'best practices' during policy making meetings, which local actors subsequently adopted in the policy documents
Agenda setting is the responsibility of government	Covertly influenced agenda setting
Donors and partners should focus their efforts around country-owned and defined objectives and expected results	Set policy priorities for the country
'Best practices' or reforms that are imposed on a country through conditionality may very well fail to produce lasting change	Imposed policy ideas on local actors in the field
Heavy involvement of external actors in the policy process is discouraged as it often weakens ownership of the resulting policy at national level and in turn leads to delays or failures in policy implementation	External actors played roles beyond tradition of providing funding and technical support

7.7.1 *The power of policy actors*

The findings show that external actors possessed more power than the local actors during policy formulation activities and that policy activities in the field generally favoured external actors compared to local actors (see Figure 7.2). External actors overtly and covertly influenced the formulation of the national ICT policy in Malawi. The resources that the external actors used to influence policy making in the field were (1) the NICI framework, (2) funding, (3) policy ideas and technical support. These material resources constituted social, economic and cultural capital. Although the external actors had more power than the local actors, their power was limited. The policy could not be approved without the involvement of the local actors. This agrees with literature that power is cyclic: "The power of the weak can thus become the

weakness of the strong” (Gargiulo & Ertug, 2014, p.179). The ultimate authority to approve a public policy in the case study was with the local actors. Put another way, for the policy to be approved, there was need for local actors to legitimate the process (Tsoukias et al., 2013).

7.7.2 Material possessions of external actors in the policy making field

The findings show that the influence of external actors affected policy formulation both positively and negatively. (See Figure 7.3). The NICI framework may have been used as a tool for experiential learning much as it may have caused some delay in the approval of the policy. Similarly, policy ideas from other countries enabled the resulting policy although it may also have contributed to delays in launching of the policy. Local actors may have learnt how to formulate the national ICT policy based on ideas they brought from visiting other successful countries such as Rwanda.

The local actors initially adopted the NICI framework in the formulation of the policy but later abandoned it in favour of a local approach. Although the framework was abandoned in subsequent policy formulation activities, the final policy retained the structure and content of the NICI framework. The policy remained foreign. External actors’ ideas, a form of social capital, were expressed through the framework and influenced policy making. Similarly, at the request of the local actors, external actors funded most activities during the formulation of the national ICT policy. This showed that the local actors had limited economic capital. Through possession of the different forms of capital, external actors dominated the policy making field and subsequently played other roles such as setting the policy agenda through promotion of the NICI framework and setting policy priorities by providing funding in the policy making arena. Because of the country’s limited economic, social and cultural capital during policy formulation field, external actors played roles (see Figure 7.4) that contradict literature on the tradition of providing financial and technical support in projects (Chiumbu, 2008).

7.7.3 Foreign aid over-dependence

The habitus of the local actors of seeking funding and technical support for projects could also have given external actors an opportunity to play other roles such as setting a policy agenda and policy priorities for Malawi despite research suggesting that these roles are the responsibility of local actors (Birdsall, Rodrik, & Subramanian, 2005; Yizengaw, 2005). Recently, EU ambassador to Malawi urged the Government to “move towards trade for development and not just consumption to be on track to achieve SDGs” (The Malawi Nation,

2018, para. 1). This is a direct reference to the country's practice of over-dependence on foreign aid, a practice that has been generated overtime by the attitude of seeking financial and technical support from donors.

Overall, the findings of the study show that when a country has limited social, cultural and economic capital, the key role of external actors goes beyond providing funds and technical assistance. External actors exert great control on what and how initiatives are prioritised and how a national ICT policy is implemented. The influence of external actors can have profound consequences for different stages of a national ICT policy implementation.

7.8 Chapter summary

The thesis examined the effects of the influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in a developing country context. The main research question was “*How does the influence of external actors affect formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries?*” Using Bourdieu's framework, it has been established that external actors played roles other than the tradition of providing technical and financial support and that such roles affected the policy making process in the case study country. The level of economic capital in the context prompted external actors to play roles such as setting a policy priority, which contributed to some delays in approving the policy. This delay affected the timely approval and subsequent implementation of the national ICT policy in the context because Cabinet directed the policy network to go back and consolidate the policy documents into one document.

The findings of this study show that the influence of external actors affected the policy making field both positively and negatively. The findings also show that there was little engagement between external actors and local actors during policy formulation activities and that policy activities generally favoured external actors compared to local actors. To validate the findings, the study compared the policy process and policy content of Botswana, Ghana, Rwanda and South Africa.. The study findings show that the influence of external actors negatively affects countries with limited economic, social and cultural capital during formulation of a public ICT policy.

8 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter sought to demonstrate the potential of Bourdieu's key concepts of field, habitus, capital and practice in illuminating power relations among policy actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in the context of a developing country. This chapter concludes the thesis and seeks, inter alia, to demonstrate the importance of the research, highlight the main findings and evaluate the contributions of the study.

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 8.2 gives an overview of the research and describes the policy-making field, which was the social space of position takings among local and external actors. Section 8.3 presents the theoretical, methodological and practical contributions of the study. Section 8.4 considers recommendations from the research to stakeholders of public policy and government. Section 8.5 covers the study limitations. Sections 8.6 and 8.7 provide suggestions for future research and a summary on personal reflections respectively. Section 8.8 is a final word for the study.

8.2 Overview of the research

The aim of the research was to explore how the influence of external actors affects formulation of a national ICT policy in developing countries. This aim was achieved through answering the research question: *How does the influence of external actors affect formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries?* Although the review of the literature shows that external actors mostly influence formulation of national ICT policies in developing countries (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Metfula et al., 2016; Odongo, 2012), there is a paucity of studies that have examined how the external influence affects public ICT policy development in the countries. The findings of this study show that the influence of external actors should not be undermined as it may negatively affect formulation of public ICT policies in developing countries particularly in Africa. Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, capital and practices were used to illuminate how the external influence affects formulation of a national ICT policy using Malawi as the case.

The findings of the research suggest that developing countries with limited economic, social and cultural capital are overtly affected by the influence of external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy. The influence of external actors, which may come in a form of

funding, technical support, policy ideas and promotion of blueprints in the policy-making space, results in some inequalities in the policy-making field. Through possession of the various forms of influence, external actors are privileged in the policy-making field resulting in the actors playing other roles such as setting a policy agenda and policy priorities for a developing country.

The findings also suggest that external actors may take advantage of the political, economic, social environment of a country and influence the policy process; such influence negatively affects development of public ICT policies. A comparison of the countries that formulated public ICT policies within the focus period of the study presented some variations. In countries where there was political will such as Rwanda, the policy-making activity yielded positive outcomes. Similarly, the findings suggest that countries with sufficient economic and cultural capital and where the influence of external actors is limited such as Botswana and South Africa, public ICT policy development achieves positive outcomes.

These findings offer the government and other stakeholders of public policy important insights into how they can effectively manage external actors during the policy process in developing countries. The element of transformation in critical research is in line with the “principle of improvements in society”, which suggests that “the goal is not just to reveal the current forms of domination, but to suggest how unwarranted uses of power might be overcome” (Myers & Klein, 2011, p.25). While more empirical studies may be necessary to verify these findings, this thesis has laid the foundation. An understanding of the interplay between the influence of external actors and the interactions among policy actors during development of a public ICT policy allows us to explain how the external influence affects the policy process.

8.3 Contributions of the research

The study has made contributions to theory, methodology and practice as outlined in the next three sub-sections.

8.3.1 Contributions to theory

The study has made two contributions to theory: the use of Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice as an explanatory framework in the domain of national ICT policy formulation and the body of knowledge on national ICT policy formulation research.

Bourdieu's theory has been widely used in policy studies in other disciplines such as health and education (see Table 3.3). Based on my knowledge, this research is the first to use Bourdieu's Theory of Practice as an explanatory theory in the discipline of public ICT policy. By considering the habitus, capital and practice of the Malawi context in the formulation of a national ICT policy, effects of the influence of external actors may either be anticipated or explained. In other words, the theory may be used to provide an understanding of how the influence of external actors affects formulation of national ICT policies in similar developing country contexts.

The second contribution to theory is the body of knowledge on national ICT policy formulation research. There is a significant body of qualitative research that has focused on influence of external actors in the formulation of national ICT policies in Africa (Adam & Gillwald, 2007; Chiumbu, 2008; Etta & Elder, 2005; Makoza, 2017; Metfula, 2013). However, there is a paucity of research that has attempted to focus on the effects of the external influence. This study has reviewed literature related to influence of external actors on a national ICT policy. The review reveals that the studies have not yet provided a theoretical explanation on how the influence of external actors affects formulation of a national ICT policy in the context of a developing country.

8.3.2 Contributions to methodology

Bourdieu's theory can use a variety of methods, "starting from thick descriptions, to intimate interviews and observations, to multi-dimensional exploratory analyses of large-scale survey data-sets emphasises the relational aspect of reality" (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011, p.29). Theory of Practice is more inclined "towards interpretative approaches such as content or hermeneutical analyses" (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011, p.29). This study used interviews and content analysis in analysing how the influence of external actors affects the formulation of a national ICT policy. The study adopted critical research, which supports "interpretive analysis and diagnosis of a social situation" such as in this research (Myers & Klein, 2011, p.23). As discussed in the Methodology Chapter of this study, critical research tends to make people understand various forms of social domination so that they can take appropriate action to eliminate them (Myers & Tan, 2002). Using the critical approach, this research has unveiled the different forms of alienation and domination in the empirical situation and based on these forms of domination, recommendations have been made in section 8.4 for the consideration of the local actors during public policy-making.

Further, habitus may be used both as a method of inquiry but also to reveal an empirical situation (Wacquant, 2014). Although the key concepts in Bourdieu's theory are interrelated, they can also be used as distinct elements (Collyer et al., 2015; Nash, 2002). In this study, all the concepts were used to provide explanations on how the influence of external actors affects the formulation of a public ICT policy in the context of a developing country.

In this study, the concept of field in Bourdieu's theory allows the researcher to discuss the impact of the political field, external actors' field and the field of power on the national ICT policy formulation field. This concept also allows one to understand how the different fields affect each other.

8.3.3 Contributions to practice

This study has presented some implications for stakeholders of public ICT policy. The research suggests that local actors should identify and articulate their policy agenda prior to engaging external actors in public ICT policy formulation. Taking this stance may help minimise the magnitude of the external influence. The study has also shown that a public policy should be the work of all key stakeholders including senior government officials. In that way, the policy network may have the capability to overcome pressures from external actors as well as political actors during policy-making. The policy network that took part in the formulation of the public ICT policy did not have these attributes. The team was mainly techno-centric and may have overtly proposed policy objectives without considering the socio-economic status of the context.

The findings of the research also have some implications for government. Over-dependence on foreign aid has been a practice in Malawi for a long time (Wroe, 2012). This practice may have been generated by the habitus of seeking technical and financial support from donors, and consequently could have allowed external actors to play other roles in the context such as setting a policy agenda, setting policy priority areas and shaping the content of the final policy. By exposing the practice and habitus of local actors in the context, this research may help government, stakeholders and policy makers to change the habitus and indeed the practice of over-dependence on foreign aid.

Earlier research has shown that the habitus is dynamic. For example, "although the structurally situated roots of habitus favor stability over change in the long run, habitus is not static, not categorically immutable; its properties can evolve by degree in response to changing

experiences and circumstances” Edgerton and Roberts (2014, p.199). By knowing the challenges associated with the habitus of seeking financial and technical support from external actors and the practice of over-dependence on foreign aid, local actors specifically government may have an opportunity to change the habitus and identify better ways of approaching external actors on support (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The findings suggest that government should identify ways of managing external actors in the formulation of a public policy.

In addition, the findings have implications for external actors who played roles such as setting the policy agenda and policy priorities in the empirical situation, which are contrary to the tradition of providing funding and technical support (Chiumbu, 2008). Heavy involvement of external actors in the policy process often weakens ownership of the resulting policy at national level and in turn leads to delays or failures in policy implementation (Stewart & Wang, 2003). In the case of Malawi, the local actors abandoned the first draft policy which was mostly the effort of external actors.

The critical research approach that was adopted in this study has exposed issues of domination among local and external actors in the policy-making field (Klein & Myers, 1999). In this case, these findings have implications for external actors who would also learn from the study and start playing their appropriate roles in public policy-making in developing countries.

The findings of this study could be beneficial to government, researchers, society at large and practitioners in the formulation of a public ICT policy. Critical research is appropriate for both IS professionals as it can “enrich their understanding and improve practice” and IS researchers as it may “challenge prevailing assumptions” (Myers & Klein, 2011, p.17). In addition, the critical approach provides an opportunity for people to realise their potential in deliberately acting to change such conditions (Hirschheim & Klein, 1994). The findings of this research have exposed forms of influence of external actors during formulation of a public ICT policy. The findings have showed that these were forms of domination. Governments and practitioners including stakeholders of public policy could learn from the study on how to manage external actors in the formulation of a national ICT policy in future. Similarly, the findings may be a good starting point for researchers to start challenging the assumptions that underpinned this study.

8.4 Recommendations

Critical research approach seeks to emancipate social change by exposing inequalities and hidden agendas among agents in social space (Klein & Myers, 1999). Three steps of (i) insight,

(ii) critique and (iii) transformation are followed in the application of the critical approach (Myers & Klein, 2011). While the first two steps are intended to understand the empirical situation and expose inequalities and hidden agendas respectively, the step on transformation makes recommendations for improving any forms of alienation and domination. Drawing on Bourdieu's theory and the critical approach, the thesis has exposed how external actors dominated the local actors in the formulation of a public ICT policy and makes the following recommendations.

8.4.1 Actors should engage each other during policy formulation

Policy actors should engage each other during formulation of a public policy. The findings in the study show that there was little engagement between local and external actors in the national ICT policy-making field, which resulted in the external actors dominating the local actors. The domination was in various dimensions: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Cultural capital could have been addressed through capacitating the policy network with knowledge and skills in policy-making. Similarly, social capital could have been addressed through efforts to customise the blueprint jointly between external and local actors. The little engagement between external and local actors may result in a policy document that is out of scope and unsustainable in the context (Court et al., 2006). Indeed, engagement of local actors in the development of the policy has been recommended in previous research (Etta & Elder, 2005).

8.4.2 Actors should embrace shared interests and values during policy-making

External actors and local actors possessed different interests and values in the policy-making field. External actors, for example, valued controlling the policy process while local actors valued seeking financial and technical support in the policy field. The difference in the interests and values allowed external actors to dominate the policy network in the field because of the resources they brought into the policy-making arena. Similarly, at local level, cabinet, as a local actor, did not seem to value timely support for the launch of the national ICT policy while the interest of the policy network was to have the policy approved quickly. The draft policy was presented at cabinet level several times. All this underscores the fact that external actors, policy network and cabinet did not have common interests and values in the policy field, which could have contributed to delays in the launch of the policy.

Possession of shared interests and values among policy actors including cabinet may perhaps help address this challenge. Indeed, past work suggests that policy actors should align their shared interests and values in order to succeed (Lingard et al., 2015). For a national ICT policy, a shared vision has also been encouraged in past work (Kendall et al., 2006).

8.4.3 Include champions from high places

High-profile actors should be included in formulation of public ICT policies because of the critical role they play in decision making (Thissen & Walker, 2013). The findings show that there was no high-profile person or group of persons that championed the cause. Policy formulation was entrusted to individuals in DISTMS, a government department that was under the Ministry of Tourism at the time. The Ministry of Tourism did not seem to take keen interest in moving the policy forward. In other countries such as Rwanda, the president championed the policy process. The policy-making team made regular reports to the president on the status of the policy activity. As a result, Rwanda successfully formulated and subsequently implemented the country's national ICT policy based on the NICI framework. Indeed, political will in the policy formulation activity has been recommended in earlier work (Chavula & Chekol, 2010). However, in the case of Malawi, the framework was abandoned and instead a local approach to policy formulation was adopted.

8.4.4 Countries should set aside budgets for supporting ICT policy

External actors mostly funded the Malawi ICT policy-making activity and in the process played other roles such as setting the policy agenda and policy priorities in the context. There was no evidence that local actors set aside funds for the process. In this case, external actors played critical roles in the formulation of the public ICT policy in the country supporting the phrase 'He who pays the piper calls the tune'. For governments to address societal problems, proper funding should be set aside for development and implementation of a policy rather than entirely depending on funding from external actors. Lack of political will in allocating public funds to programmes in ICTs has been identified as a challenge in earlier work (Chavula & Chekol, 2010). Equally external actors should encourage beneficiary countries to contribute towards funding policy-making activities. In that way, local actors or governments may take ownership of the policy process (Stewart & Wang, 2003). Setting a policy agenda and policy priorities for a country that is over-dependent on foreign aid may overburden the government to set aside economic capital on projects that may not be sustainable or cannot be implemented (Altenburg, 2010, p.36).

8.4.5 External actors should avoid taking roles of local actors during policy-making

The findings show that external actors overtly influenced formulation of the public ICT policy in the context. Thus, external funding could have contributed to delays in launching the resulting policy. The findings offer a lesson to external actors that policy is the responsibility of the local actors and that the external actors should take a supportive role rather than leading the process (Fox, Bayat, & Ferreira, 2006). In other words, external actors should encourage local actors in developing countries to define country-owned objectives rather than entirely adopt ideas from elsewhere (Yizengaw, 2005).

8.5 Limitations of the study

The study had some limitations. Firstly, because the policy formulation process took place several years back between 2001 and 2009, some policy actors could not be traced. In addition, a few of the respondents who were interviewed could not easily remember the proceedings of some policy-making meetings. Although this was partly addressed by making copies of the policy documents available to the respondents a few days before the interview, it remains a limitation.

Secondly, most external actors who took part in the policy-making activity could not be traced. Snowballing assisted the researcher in getting some roles that the external actors played during policy-making. However, while some of the local actors presented their personal views about the roles of the external actors, their level of subjectivity could affect the accuracy of the findings since the local actors' views on the behaviour of external actors during the process could not be validated.

Thirdly, minutes of some meetings could not be traced through government offices. Most of the documents were sourced through the Internet and from individual actors who kept copies of meeting proceedings. This resulted in the researcher getting access to minutes of only three meetings.

A fourth limitation is that the study focused on one country which may give the researcher a narrow view. However, the researcher followed the case study rules and that it is permissible to use a single case through, for example, providing a rich description of the empirical situation

(Flyvbjerg, 2006; Walsham, 1995b). This research provided a rich description of the empirical situation (see Chapter 5).

Comparing effects of the influence of external actors from more than one country may probably be more valuable and give a broader view of the findings. Moreover, this study is based on the behaviour, beliefs and values of a policy network in Malawi, with emphasis on the influence of external actors in that context. Due to cultural and historical differences among countries, the findings of the research may present variations in different country contexts. While acknowledging this limitation, the study identified key differences between local actors and external actors in how they view policy formulation. Local actors valued seeking support from external actors in the formulation of the policy, which was in contrast with external actors' value of controlling the policy process. The difference in viewpoint may affect the content of the resulting policy.

8.6 Future work

This study analysed effects of the influence of external actors in formulation of public ICT policy in developing countries using an in-depth analysis of a single case for which the focus was mainly the issue and not the case. Although the study has found that external influence results in unintended or intended consequences during policy formulation in developing countries, the researcher cannot conclude that this would be generalised to all cases. Future research could consider more empirical work using multiple cases to elaborate and validate the theoretical explanations that this thesis has produced. An in-depth analysis of multiple countries with at least one country presenting characteristics of being overdependent on foreign aid and one or other countries less dependent on donor aid is clearly needed to elaborate the theoretical explanations. By comparing the habitus, capital and practices of the different sets of policy actors in the formulation of national ICT policies in the different countries, the research would possibly be more conclusive on how the influence of the external actors affects the policy development process.

Secondly, this study used interviews and content analysis to elucidate the effects of the influence of external actors in the formulation of a public ICT policy. Most studies drawing on Bourdieu's theory have adopted ethnography as an approach to the conduct of the research. Perhaps, future research adopting this approach would give different meanings to effects of the influence of the external actors.

Thirdly, a future research agenda may also consider answering the question: *how does the influence of external actors during formulation of a national ICT policy affect outcomes of the policy?* Such research could consider relating the effects of the external influences during the policy formulation stage to the implementation activities of the public policy.

8.7 Personal reflections

This study has disciplined my way of thinking as a researcher. While my view at the start of the research was that external actors are solely responsible for the challenges that Malawi faces, this view changed towards the end of the research when the data showed that local actors also have a stake in the problem. The research showed that there was lack of political will to move the national ICT policy formulation agenda forward much as it showed that external actors may have contributed to the delays in passing the policy. Similarly, I generally expected all the respondents in the study to be willing to provide data during the conduct of the interviews, although the reality was different. There were some respondents who pushed me from one office to another claiming they did not participate in the policy meetings although it was clear through the copies of the minutes I obtained that they took critical roles in policy proceedings.

This study has also changed my way of thinking as a researcher in that while this research has made some contributions to knowledge, but without the collective effort of the respondents and the researcher this knowledge would not have been produced. This stance agrees with Walsham (2017) that researchers are not champions in contributing to knowledge but do so together with all the participants in a study.

8.8 Final word

Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of field, habitus, capital and practice have been used in previous studies to illuminate aspects of alienation and domination in other disciplines such as health and education. To the best of my knowledge no studies have used this theoretical underpinning in the domain of ICT policy. This research adopted Bourdieu's theory, a critical theory, to examine how external influence affects formulation of a national ICT policy in developing countries. Data for the study was collected from interviews and reports, policy documents and minutes of policy meetings while thematic and content analyses informed data analysis.

The research applied a set of principles of critical research proposed by Myers and Klein (2011), which recommends data collection and analysis to be informed by concepts of a critical theory (see Appendix 3). A thematic approach proposed by Braun and Clark (2006) was then used to illuminate how the influence affected formulation of a public ICT policy in Malawi. Using secondary data, the policy process and policy content from four other countries were compared with the policy process and policy content in Malawi to validate the findings. The data show that external actors mostly used different categories of influence in the policy-making field to gain positions of power, which led to the external actors dominating the local actors in the formulation of the national ICT policy. The forms of influence include the NICI framework, funding and policy ideas. Using Bourdieu's concept of capital, these resources constituted social capital, economic capital and cultural capital respectively, which were limited in the empirical situation.

The findings suggest that the influence of external actors, in general, negatively affects policy formulation in countries with limited economic, social and cultural capital. Using different forms of capital, external actors tend to dominate policy formulation in developing countries and play roles such as setting a policy agenda and setting policy priorities for a developing country which is not consistent with the tradition of external actors providing funding and technical support. Further, the study finds that when external actors set the policy agenda for a context then the resulting policy may be full of content that is prescribed by the external actors.

Some concepts emerge from the study: (i) appropriation of the blueprint, (ii) policy poverty, (iii) donor dependency, (iv) power of actors and (v) legitimation. The study showed that the local actors in the main case study used the blueprint to come up with their own policy. The blueprint was developed within the AISI framework but the local actors abandoned it in favour of a local approach. However, the final policy was a replica of the blueprint. This is appropriation.

Research on ICT policy poverty in Africa suggests that the interplay between the state and the market is crucial towards attainment of positive outcomes on ICT developments (Gillwald, 2010). There was lack of expertise and political will in the case study to develop ICT policy. The first draft policy was developed by external actors. The case showed that there was no cultural capital to develop the policy at the time. Further, the political field sent back the policy network a number of times to review the policy document. There may have been lack of political will to approve the policy which would be crucial in ICT developments.

The data showed how over-dependent the case study was on foreign aid. This culture contradicts earlier work which has shown the challenges associated with foreign aid. For example, recommendations have been made for governments in Africa to consider moving from foreign aid dependency to trade partners with external actors. In a recent Facebook discussion on foreign aid, one Zimbabwean mentioned that aid has done more harm than good in Africa. She stated that aid (MISC4, 2019):

- i. has subsidised political inefficiencies of Africa's irresponsible governments;
- ii. has trapped African countries in debt because most aid comes as state to state funding in a form of loans, which the countries are struggling to pay back;
- iii. is killing local industries. Beneficiaries mostly get goods such as mosquito nets for free instead of buying them from our own industries;
- iv. is fueling corruption - some of the agencies such as the UN and USAID can work with governments regardless of how responsible they are or not.

The study has shown that external actors were more powerful than the local actors during the formulation of the national ICT policy. Although the local actors were less powerful, they controlled the policy process. The final policy could only be approved by a local actors who had less power.

Another concept of interest is legitimization. The data showed that the policy could not be developed by one set of actors. The contributions from actors in different sectors were crucial in making the policy happen.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Papers on Influences and Country Context

No.	Author	Title	Year
1	Adam, L., & Gillwald, A.	<i>The Political Economy of ICT policy-making in Africa: Historical Contexts of Regulatory Frameworks, Policy Performance, Research Questions and Methodological Issues.</i> Cape Town: ResearchGate.	2007
2	Adler, P., & Kwon, S.	Social Capital: Prospects for a New Concept. <i>The Academy of Management Review</i> , 27(1), 17-40.	2002
3	Ajayi, G. O.	Information and Communication Technologies in Africa. <i>International Centre for Theoretical Physics (ICTP)</i> (pp. 1-15). Trieste, Italy: International Centre for Theoretical Physics (ICTP).	2002
4	Avgerou, C.	Information Systems in developing countries: A critical research review. <i>Journal of Information Technology</i> , 133-146.	2008
5	Bahr, S. J., Hoffmann, J. P., & Yang, X.	Parental and Peer Influences on the Risk of Adolescent Drug Use. <i>The Journal of Primary Prevention</i> , 529-551.	2005
6	Béland, D.	Ideas and Social Policy: An Institutional Perspective. <i>Social policy and administration</i> , 39(1), 1-18.	2005
7	Bouquet, C., & Birkinshaw, J.	Managing Power in the Multinational Corporation: How Low-Power Actors Gain Influence. <i>Journal of Management</i> , 34(3), 477-508.	2008
8	Braa, J., & Hedberg, C.	Developing District-Based Health Care Information Systems: The South African Experience . <i>Conference on Information Flows, Local Improvisations and Work Practices</i> (p. 1). Cape Town: Proceedings of the IFIPWG9.4 .	2000
9	Brown , W., & Brown, I.	Next Generation ICT Policy in South Africa: Towards a Human Development-Based ICT Policy. In C. Avgerou, M. Smith, & P. van den Besselaar, <i>Social Dimensions of Information and Communication Technology Policy</i> (Vol. 282, pp. 109–123). Boston: Springer.	2008
10	Büthe , T., & Milner, H. V.	The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment into Developing Countries: Increasing FDI through International Trade Agreements? <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , 52(4), 741-762.	2008
11	Chiumbu, S. H.	. Understanding the Role and Influence of External Actors and Ideas in African Information, Communication and Technology Policies: The African Information Society Initiative. <i>PhD Thesis</i> . Oslo, Oslo, Norway: University of Oslo.	2008
12	Cukier, W., Bauer, R., & Middleton, C.	Applying Habermas' validity claims as a standard for critical discourse analysis . <i>Information Systems Research</i> , 143, 233-258.	2004
13	Daley , D. M., & Garand, J. C.	Horizontal Diffusion, Vertical Diffusion, and Internal Pressure in State Environmental Policymaking, 1989-1998. <i>American Politics Research</i> , 33(5), 615-644.	2005
14	Diga, K., Nwaiwu , F., & Plantinga , P.	ICT policy and poverty reduction in Africa. <i>info</i> , 114 - 127.	2013
15	Dobrowa, M., Goel , V., & Upshur, R.	Evidence-based health policy: context and utilisation. <i>Social Science & Medicine</i> , 58, 207–217.	2004
16	Dodson, L., Sterling, S. R., & Bennett, J. K.	Considering Failure: Eight Years of ITID Research. <i>ICTD2012 Special Issue</i> , 19–34.	2012
17	Dolowitz, D., & Marsh, D.	Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making Governance. <i>An International Journal of Policy and Administration</i> , 13(1), 5–24.	2000
18	Dominique, K., Malik , A., & Remoqu, V.	International Benchmarking: Politics and Policy. <i>Science and Public Policy</i> , 1-17.	2013
19	Dreher, A., & Jensen, N. M.	Independent Actor or Agent? An Empirical Analysis of the Impact of U.S. Interests on International Monetary Fund Conditions. <i>The Journal of Law & Economics</i> , 50(1), 105-124.	2007

20	Dreher, A., Sturm, J.-E., & Vreeland, J. R.	Development aid and international politics: does membership on the UN Security Council influence World Bank decisions? <i>Globalisation and Development Centre</i> , 1-47.	2009
21	Dzidonu, C.	A Blueprint for Developing National ICT Policy in Africa. <i>African Technology Policy Studies Network</i> , 1-35.	2002
22	Emam, K. E., & Koru, A. G.	A Replicated Survey of IT Software Project Failures. <i>IEEE Computer Society</i> , 84-90.	2008
23	Etta, E. F., & Elder, L.	. <i>At The Crossroads: ICT policy-making in East Africa</i> . Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.	2005
24	Folke, C., Hahn, T., Olsson, P., & Norberg, J.	Adaptive Governance of Social-Ecological Systems. <i>Annual Rev. Environ. Resources</i> , 30, 441–73.	2005
25	Gillwald, A.	The Poverty of ICT Policy, Research, and Practice in Africa. <i>Special Edition 2010</i> , 79–88.	2010
26	Hahn, A. J.	policy-making Models and Their Role in Policy Education. <i>Education</i> , 222-235.	2008
27	Heeks, R.	Health information systems: failure, success and improvisation. <i>International Journal of Medical Informatics</i> , 75(2), 125–137.	2006
28	Heeks, R.	ICT4D 2.0: The Next Phase of Applying ICT for International Development. <i>IEEE Computer Society</i> , 26-33.	2008
29	Hesmondhalgh, D., & Pratt, A. C.	Cultural industries and cultural policy. <i>International journal of cultural policy</i> , 11(1), 1-14.	2005
30	Howlett, M., McConnell, A., & Perl, A.	Forum Section: Theoretically Refining the Multiple Streams Framework Streams and stages: Reconciling Kingdon and policy process theory. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> , 419–434.	2015
31	Johnson, C. C.	Educational Turbulence: The Influence of Macro and Micro-Policy on Science Education Reform. <i>Journal of Science Teacher Education</i> , 693–715.	2013
32	Kelley, J.	International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions. <i>International Organization</i> , 58(3), 425-457.	2004
33	Kelly, C. R.	Power, Linkage and Accommodation: The WTO as an International Actor and Its Influence on Other Actors and Regimes. <i>Berkeley Journal of International Law</i> , 24(1), 79-128.	2006
34	Kendall, K. E., Kendall, J. E., & Kah, M. M.	Formulating information and communication technology (ICT) policy through discourse: How Internet discussions shape policies on ICTs for developing countries. <i>Information Technology for Development</i> , 12(1), 25-43.	2006
35	Lance, K., & Bassolé, A.	SDI and national information and communication infrastructure (NICI) integration in Africa. <i>Information Technology for Development</i> , 12(4), 333-338. doi:DOI: 10.1002/itdj.20051	2006
36	Macintosh, A.	Characterizing E-Participation in Policy-Making . <i>Proceedings of the 37th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences</i> (pp. 1-10). Hawaii : IEEE.	2004
37	Maitland, C. F., & van Gorp, A.	Beyond Harmonization: ICT Policymaking in Regional Economic Communities. <i>The Information Society</i> , 25, 23–37.	2009
38	Makoza, F., & Chigona, W.	Review of Challenges in National ICT Policy Process for African Countries. <i>2013 ITU Kaleidoscope Academic Conference</i> . Cape Town: 2013 ITU.	2013b
39	Mansell, R.	Communication, Information, and ICT Policy: Towards Enabling Research Frameworks. <i>IFIP International Federation for Information Processing</i> (pp. 15–28). Boston: Springer.	2008
40	McFaul, M.	Democracy Promotion as a World Value. <i>The Washington Quarterly</i> , 28(1), 147-163.	2004
41	Metfula, A. S.	The interplay between policy network actors and information and communication technology policies in a developing country	2013

		context. <i>University of Cape Town</i> . Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town.	
42	Miller, J.	Perspectives and Policies on ICT in Africa. <i>Perspectives and Policies on ICT in Society</i> , 15-24.	2002
43	Njihia, J. M., & Merali, Y.	The Broader Context for ICT4D Projects: A Morphogenetic Analysis. <i>MIS Quarterly</i> , 37 (3), 881-905.	2013
44	Nkwe, N.	E-Government: Challenges and Opportunities in Botswana. <i>International Journal of Humanities and Social Science</i> , 2(17), 39-48.	2012
45	O'Neill, K., Balsiger, J., & VanDeveer, S.	Actors, Norms, and Impact: Recent International Cooperation Theory and the Influence of the Agent-Structure Debate. <i>Annual Reviews Political Science</i> , 7, 149-175.	2004
46	Odongo, A. O.	ICT Policy in Africa - A Comparative Study of Ghana and Kenya Drawing on Lessons from Developed Countries. <i>Computers and Society</i> , 192-201.	2012
47	Ofir, Z.	<i>Final Report: Information, Communication and Technology (Acacia): The Case of Mozambique, Senegal, South Africa & Uganda- Strategic Evaluation: Research Influence on Policy Evaluation Networks</i> . New York: IDRC.	2003
48	Olatokun, W. M.	Gender and National ICT Policy in Africa: issues, strategies, and policy options. <i>Information Development</i> , 24(1), 53-65. doi:DOI: 10.1177/0266666907087697	2008
49	Rohitratana, K.	The Role of Thai Values in Managing Information Systems: A Case Study of Implementing an MRP System. In C. Avgerou, & G. Walsham, <i>Information Technology in Context: Implementing Systems in the Developing World</i> (p. 1). London: Ashgate Publishing.	2000
50	Schlaegel, C., He, X., & Engle, R.	The Direct and Indirect Influences on National Culture on Entrepreneurship Intentions: A fourteen Nationa Study. <i>International Journal of Management</i> , 30(2), 597-609.	2013
51	Schuppan, T.	E-Government in developing countries: Experiences from sub-Saharan Africa. <i>Government Information Quarterly</i> , 26, 118-127.	2009
52	Smith, A.	Emerging in between: The multi-level governance of renewable energy in the English regions. <i>Energy Policy</i> , 6266-6280.	2007
53	Söderbaum, F., & Hettne, B.	Civilian Power or Soft Imperialism? EU as a Global Actor and the Role of Interregionalism. <i>European Foreign Affairs Review</i> , 1-19.	2005
54	Woods, N.	Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance. <i>International Affairs</i> , 84(6), 1205-1221.	2008
55	Yusuf, M. O.	Information and communication technology and education: Analysing the Nigerian national policy for information technology. <i>International Education Journal</i> , 6(3), 316-321.	2005
56	Zittoun, P.	<i>The Political Process of Policymaking: A Pragmatic Approach to Public Policy</i> . New York: Palgrave Macmillan.	2014

Appendix 2: Summary of papers on national ICT policy formulation in Africa

Author(s)	Title	Theory	Method
Adam & Gillwald, 2007	The Political Economy of ICT policy-making in Africa: Historical Contexts of Regulatory Frameworks, Policy Performance, Research Questions and Methodological Issues	None	None
Chiumbu, 2008	Understanding the Role and Influence of External Actors and Ideas in African Information, Communication and Technology Policies: The African Information Society Initiative	neo-Gramscian theory and policy network analysis	Interpretivist/post-positivist approach
Hafkin, 2002	Gender Issues in ICT Policy in Developing Countries: An Overview	None	None
Makoza & Chigona, 2013b	Review of Challenges in National ICT Policy Process for African Countries	Grounded theory	Grounded theory
Metfula, 2013	The Interplay Between Policy Network Actors and Information and Communication Technology Policies in a Developing Country Context	Policy network analysis and Habermas' critical discourse analysis	Critical realism
Miller, 2002	Perspectives and Policies on ICT in Africa		
Odongo, 2012	ICT Policy in Africa - A Comparative Study of Ghana and Kenya Drawing on Lessons from Developed Countries	None	Benchmarking
Olatokun, 2008	Gender and National ICT Policy in Africa: issues, strategies, and policy options	None	None
Yusuf, 2005	Information and communication technology and education: Analysing the Nigerian national policy for information technology	None	None

Appendix 3: Ethical Approval from Malawi Government



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Lingadzi House
Robert Mugabe Crescent
Private Bag B303
City Centre
Lilongwe

Tel: +265 1 771 550

+265 1 774 869

+265 1 774 189

Fax: +265 1 772 431

Mail: directorgeneral@ncst.mw

Website: <http://www.ncst.mw>

'A nation with scientifically and technologically led sustainable growth and development'

Ref No: NCST/RTT/2/6

16th June, 2017

Gregory Kunyenje
Chancellor College
P. O Box 280
Zomba

Dear Gregory Kunyenje,

RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL OF PROTOCOL P06/17/187: THE EFFECTS OF EXTERNAL ACTORS' INFLUENCE ON NATIONAL INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY POLICY FORMULATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: CASE OF MALAWI

Having satisfied all the ethical, scientific and regulatory requirements, procedures and guidelines for the conduct of research in the social sciences sector in Malawi, I am pleased to inform you that the above referred research study by Gregory Kunyenje has officially been approved. You may now proceed with its implementation. Should there be any amendments to the approved protocol in the course of implementing it, you shall be required to seek approval of such amendments before implementation of the same.

This approval is valid for one year from the date of issuance of this letter. If the study goes beyond one year, an annual approval for continuation shall be required to be sought from the National Committee on Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities in a format that is available at the secretariat. Once the study is finished, you are required to furnish the Committee and the Commission with a final report of the study.

Wishing you a successful implementation of your study.

Yours Sincerely

Martina Chimzimu
NCRSH ADMINISTRATOR AND RESEARCH OFFICER
HEALTH, SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
For: CHAIRMAN OF NCRSH

Appendix 4: University of Cape Town, Faculty of Commerce, Ethics Approval



Faculty of Commerce

Private Bag X3, Rondebosch, 7701
2.26 Leslie Commerce Building, Upper Campus
Tel: +27 (0) 21 650 4375/ 5748 Fax: +27 (0) 21 650 4369
E-mail: com-faculty@uct.ac.za
Internet: www.uct.ac.za



@Commerce UCT



UCT Commerce Faculty Office

28 January 2019

Mr Gregory Kunyenje
Department of Information
Systems
University of Cape Town

Dear Gregory Kunyenje,

REF: REC 2018/012/164

**Effects of External Actors' Influence on National Information and
Communications Technology Policy Formulation in Developing Countries: Case
of Malawi**

We are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. Unless otherwise specified this ethical clearance is valid for 1 year and may be renewed upon application.

Please be aware that you need to notify the Ethics Committee immediately should any aspect of your study regarding the engagement with participants as approved in this application, change. This may include aspects such as changes to the research design, questionnaires, or choice of participants.

The ongoing ethical conduct throughout the duration of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

We wish you well for your research.

Shandre Swain
Administrative Assistant
University of Cape Town
Commerce Faculty Office
Room 2.26 | Leslie Commerce Building

Office Telephone: +27 (0)21 650 2695 / 4375
Office Fax: +27 (0)21 650 4369
E-mail: sl.swain@uct.ac.za
Website: www.commerce.uct.ac.za<<http://www.commerce.uct.ac.za/>



Gregory Kunyenje <gregory.kunyenje@gmail.com>

Ethics application

4 messages

Michael Harber <michael.harber@uct.ac.za>

Sun, Jul 30, 2017 at 2:46 PM

To: Gregory Kunyenje <KNYGRE001@myuct.ac.za>, "gregory.kunyenje@gmail.com" <gregory.kunyenje@gmail.com>

Cc: Samantha Alexander <samantha.alexander@uct.ac.za>

Dear Gregory Kunyenje,

Thank you for submitting your Commerce Ethics application titled: Effects of External Actors' Influence on National Information and Communications Technology Policy Formulation in Developing Countries: Case of Malawi.

We are pleased to inform you that your application has been approved.

We are pleased to inform you that your application has been approved.

Please anticipate a formal letter, from Samantha Alexander, confirming this outcome.

Regards,
Michael Harber CA(SA)
Acting Chair of Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee

Disclaimer - University of Cape Town This e-mail is subject to UCT policies and e-mail disclaimer published on our website at <http://www.uct.ac.za/about/policies/emaildisclaimer/> or obtainable from +27 21 650 9111. If this e-mail is not related to the business of UCT, it is sent by the sender in an individual capacity. Please report security incidents or abuse via csirt@uct.ac.za

Appendix 5: Permission letters



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
Faculty of Commerce
Department of Information Systems
Rondebosch 7700, Cape Town
South Africa
Telephone: +27 21 650-2261
Fax: +27 21 650-2280

17th July 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO HOLD INTERVIEWS WITH YOU

I am a lecturer in Computer Science at Chancellor College in the University of Malawi and currently studying towards a PhD in Information Systems at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. The title of my research is: *“Effects of external actors’ influence during formulation of a national Information and Communications Technology (ICT) policy in a developing country context, the case of Malawi”*.

I write to seek permission to hold an interview with you as one who participated during formulation of the national Information and Communication Technology (ICT) policy in Malawi in 2003, 2006 or 2009. However, should you know someone else who is willing to participate in this study please feel free to provide their details.

The interviews are planned for the period between August 2017 and November 2017. The Malawi Government has already granted permission for the conduct of this research.

Your assistance in the conduct of this research will be highly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Gregory'.

Gregory Kunyenje: Email: gregory.kunyenje@gmail.com

Supervisor:

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Wallace'.

Prof. Wallace Chigona, Professor, Department of Information Systems, University of Cape Town
Rondebosch 7701, Cape Town, South Africa, Email: wallace.chigona@uct.ac.za



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
Faculty of Commerce
Department of Information Systems
Rondebosch 7700, Cape Town
South Africa
Telephone: +27 21 650-2261
Fax: +27 21 650-2280

17th July 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS IN YOUR ORGANISATION

I am a lecturer in Computer Science at Chancellor College in the University of Malawi and currently studying towards a PhD in Information Systems at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am working on a research on: *"Effects of external actors' influence during formulation of a national Information and Communications Technology (ICT) policy in a developing country context, the case of Malawi"*.

The purpose of this letter is to seek your permission to conduct interviews with some members of staff in your organisation who took part in any role during formulation of the national Information and Communication Technology (ICT) policy in Malawi in 2003, 2006 or 2009. However, with the passage of time some staff may have moved to other institutions. In this case, those members of staff who are custodians of documentation that relates to the national ICT policy process in Malawi may also assist.

I plan to conduct the interviews between August 2017 and November 2017. The Malawi Government has already granted permission for the conduct of this research.

Your assistance in the conduct of this research will be highly appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in purple ink, appearing to read "Gregory".

Gregory Kunyenje, Email: gregory.kunyenje@gmail.com

Supervisor:

A handwritten signature in purple ink, appearing to read "Wallace Chigona".

Prof. Wallace Chigona, Professor, Department of Information Systems, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch 7701, Cape Town, South Africa, Email: wallace.chigona@uct.ac.za

Appendix 6: Informed Consent



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
Faculty of Commerce,
Department of Information
Systems, Rondebosch 7700, Cape
Town, **South Africa**

Telephone: +27 21 650-2261

Fax: +27 21 650-2280

7th July 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

Research title: Effects of External Actors' Influence during Formulation of a national Information and Communications Technology Policy: Case of Malawi

My name is Gregory Kunyenje, a lecturer in Computer Science at Chancellor College in the University of Malawi. I am currently studying towards a PhD in Information Systems at the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

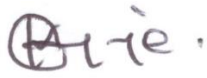
As a requirement for the PhD, I am working on research that seeks to *explore effects of external actors' influence during formulation of a national Information and Communications Technology (ICT) policy in a developing country context, the case of Malawi*. This study will help in bridging the much lamented micro and macro level failures of Information Systems projects or ICTs in developing countries, particularly in Africa. The findings of the research may also help stakeholders of public policy to devise strategies for managing external actors during the policy process.

The interview is scheduled to take approximately 60 minutes and all information collected during the interview will be used solely for academic purposes and no confidential information will be shared with a third party.

As a respondent, you have the right not to respond to any question(s) and to withdraw from the interview at any time. At the end of this study, all participants who may be willing will be allowed to have a soft copy of the thesis.

Thank you for your assistance and cooperation.

Yours Sincerely,



Gregory Kunyenje



Supervisor:

Prof. Wallace Chigona,
Professor,
Department of Information Systems,
University of Cape Town,
Rondebosch 7701,
Cape Town, South Africa,
Email: Wallace.Chigona@uct.ac.za

Appendix 7: Research Instrument



Part A: Local Actors

Name:

Current Position:

Current Organisation:

Power/field

Actors

1. Would you explain the role(s) such as sponsor, participant, observer, etc. that your organisation played during the policy formulation activity? Did the organisation have any responsibilities during the activity?
2. In terms of leadership, who was the overall in-charge of the policy-making process? Were there particular reasons for choosing this person?
3. What are your opinions or feelings with regard to this person as the leader of the process?
4. Among those who were key in the process, who stated what action(s) to be taken in the policy formulation process?
5. In your assessment, whose decision(s) were dominant in the policy formulation stage? Why were these decisions dominant?
6. Were there others who were allowed to participate in the policy-making field? If yes, would you remember them and what were the reasons for allowing them to participate?
7. Do you recall any individuals or organisations being excluded from participating in the policy process? If yes, what was the basis for this exclusion?
8. Do you know other regional or international organisations that took part in the policy formulation process? If yes, what roles did they play?
9. How did lead persons/chairpersons facilitate the policy formulation process?
10. What would you consider as key points of tension that were encountered by participants during policy formulation? If yes, how were these tensions managed or negotiated?
11. What role did your organisation have in the policy-making? What was it expecting to gain from the participation?

Policy activities/outcomes

1. In your understanding, what were the intended outcomes of policy formulation stage?
2. If you assess, was there any effort to implement the policy outcomes? Who was charged with the responsibility to ensure the implementation of the policy?
3. Would you explain the implementation activities that were outlined in the policy?

Habitus

1. Which ideas or situations were favoured by the participants in the policy-making stage and why?
2. During policy formulation, were decisions made by consensus? If so, how?
3. Would you have an idea as to what motivated participants to get involved in the policy formulation stage? Were participants paid allowances during the process and who was responsible for paying them? Did the participants fully attend all the policy-making activities? If not, were any reasons given for their absence? Could you provide any examples?
4. Did policy participants express themselves as, for example, champions, followers, legitimate, etc. during the process?
5. Did any of the participants suggest any specific policy outcomes or objectives during policy formulation?

Capital

1. As you experienced it, what specific resources (material, financial, etc) and values () did members bring to the policy-making arena and how were these appreciated?
2. Were there any alliances among participants that were established during the policy-making stage?
3. How were the skills and experiences of participants valued during the policy process?
4. Can you comment on the contextual (work ethics, financial standing of participants, etc) factors that were deemed essential during the policy formulation process?
5. In your view, did any of the contextual factors enable the policy formulation process?

Practices

1. What factors affected the policy formulation process? Was it behaviour of participants, complexity of the policy-making process, shortage of skills, lack of funding, etc?
2. Was there any external pressure that led the participants into developing the policy and why?
3. In your opinion, what are the strategies and activities of the policy-making process in practice?
4. What were the strategies used by different participants to enter and gain acceptability in the policy-making arena?
5. In their case, what strategies were enacted by local participants to ensure that their contributions were considered?

Part B: External Actors

Name:

Position:

Organisation:

Power/field

1. Would you explain the roles and responsibilities that your organisation had during the policy formulation activity?
2. In terms of an overall in-charge, who was the overall in-charge of the policy-making process? Were there particular reasons for choosing this person?
3. Among those who were key in process, who stated what action(s) to be taken next in the policy formulation processes of agenda setting and formulation? Were there specific reasons for choosing this person??
4. In your assessment, whose decision(s) became final in the policy formulation stage? Were there any reasons for this?
5. What are your beliefs or feelings with regard to this person being the one in that position?
6. Can you explain the implementation/activities that were outlined in the policy?
7. Were there others who were allowed to participate in the policy-making field? If yes, who were they and what were the reasons for allowing them to participate?
8. Do you recall any actors being excluded? if yes, what was the basis for this exclusion?
9. In your understanding, what were the intended and actual outcomes of agenda setting and policy formulation stages?
10. If you assess, was there any effort to implement the policy outcomes? Who was charged with the responsibility to ensure the implementation of the policy?
11. What would you consider as key points of tension that were encountered by actors during policy formulation and how were these managed or negotiated?
12. How did lead persons/chairpersons facilitate the policy formulation process?
13. What role did your organisation have in the policy-making? What was it expecting to gain from the participation?
14. Do you know other external actors that took part in the policy process (agenda setting, formulation and implementation) and what roles did they play?

Habitus

1. Which ideas or positions were favoured by the participants in the agenda setting and policy-making stages and why?
2. Within the field, were decisions made by consensus? If so, how?

3. What were the practices of participants? For example, did participants get allowances and who was responsible for paying them? Did the participants attend full time? If not, were any reason given for their absence? Could you provide any examples?

Capital

1. As you experienced it, what social, economic and cultural values did members bring to the policy process and how were these valued?
2. Can you comment on the contextual (social, economic and cultural) factors that were deemed crucial during the process?
3. In your view, how did contextual (culture, economic and social) factors enable the policy formulation process?

Practices

1. What factors affected the policy formulation process? Was it behaviour of participants, complexity of the policy-making process, shortage of skills, etc?
2. Was there any external pressure that led the participants into developing the policy and why?
3. In your opinion, what are the strategies and activities of the policy-making process in practice?
4. What were the strategies used by different participants to enter and gain acceptability in the policy-making field?
5. In their case, what strategies were enacted by local participants to ensure that their contributions were considered?

Appendix 8: Codebook of concepts in Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

Concepts	Explanation	Examples
Field	A network of relationships of policy actors and positions occupied as a result of different forms of capitals the actors possess (Bourdieu, 1990).	A policy network and the network of relationships within the group, a policy formulation field
Habitus	Behaviour, beliefs, values, expressions of policy actors and are identified through the practices that enact the habitus (Wacquant, 2011).	A policy actor controlling policy process or seeking external technical support in policy-making
Symbolic Capital	What gives some policy actors more power compared to others and relates to honour, prestige, pride or the right to be heard (Bourdieu, 1993).	A political actor with authority to approve policy
Cultural Capital	Refers to knowledge, skills, education, and advantages that a policy actor possesses and which gives him or her higher status in society (Bourdieu, 1986).	Skills, experiences of an actor
Economic Capital	Economic capital relates to the resource (cash or assets) that a policy actor possesses (Bourdieu, 1986).	Funding actors during meetings
Political capital		Decisions made by Cabinet
Practice	Relates to the actions that policy actors engage in, or what they do. Practice is generated by habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).	A policy actor shaping a policy
Strategies	Actions taken by policy actors during policy formulation (Bourdieu, 1990).	Policy actors holding meetings away from duty stations to avoid disruptions during meetings

Appendix 9: Summary of stakeholders consulted in policy-making (GoMICTP3, 2009, p.4)

Stakeholder	Category	Sector/affiliations
Line Ministry	Local organisation	Public sector
National ICT Working Group	Local organisation	National representative group
UNDP	International organisation	International NGO
The World Bank	International organisation	Donor
UNECAiz	International organisation	Donor
Mzuzu University	Local organisation	Academic institution
University of Malawi	Local organisation	Academic institution
Youth organisations	Local organisation	NGO
ICT Associations	Local organisation	Professional grouping
Libraries	Local organisation	Academic institutions and public sector institutions
Internet Service Providers	Local organisation	Private sector
ICT suppliers and Service Providers	Local organisation	Private sector
Non-governmental organisations	Local organisation	NGO
Government Ministries and Departments	Local organisation	Public sector
Members of Parliament	Local organisation	Legislature
Traditional chiefs	Local organisation	Representatives of ordinary citizens
MACRA	Local organisation	Public sector
DISTMS	Local organisation	Public sector

Appendix 10: Summary of codes from interviews

Code/Respondent	A1	A2	N1	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	R1	R2	R3	R4	S1	S2	V1	V2	V3	%age
appetite for donors	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	17%
country context	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	11%
culture of allowances	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	83%
external events	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	44%
external participation	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	44%
external funding	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	56%
local funding	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	44%
lack of commitment	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	56%
lack of knowledge	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	11%
lack of ownership	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	17%
lack of regulation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
decisions by consensus	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	67%
external domination	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	33%
local participation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	11%
policy process	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11%
policy template	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	67%
political interference	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	56%
political support	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6%
poor policy outcomes	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	83%
regional influence	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	50%
no strategic plan	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	11%
strategies adopted	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6%
technical support	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	67%
vested interests	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	11%

*%age means percentage

Notes: The letters and number in the first row represent respondents. The first column from the left are the codes that were extracted from the data. A '1' against a respondent denotes positive response and 0 is the opposite.

Appendix 11: Summary of respondents and their affiliations

Actor	1999	2003	2006	2009	Sector/affiliation
ACADEMIC-1		x	x		Public/academia
ACADEMIC-2				x	Private/academia
ACADEMIA-3		x	x		Public/academia
ACADEMIA-4					Private/academia
ACADEMIA-5			x	x	Private/academia
NON-GOVERMENTAL-1		x	x	x	Local international NGO
PRIVATE-1		x	x		Public/MACRA
PRIVATE-2		x	x	x	private
PRIVATE-3			x		public
PRIVATE-4		x			private
PUBLIC-1				x	public
PUBLIC-2		x	x		public
PUBLIC-3			x		public
PUBLIC-4		x	x	x	public
PUBLIC-5		x	x	x	public
PUBLIC-6		x	x	x	public
STATUTORY-1			x	x	private
STATUTORY-2		x	x	x	Public/MACRA
STATUTORY-3	x				Public/academia
EA1, EA2		x	x		External actor
Public	1	8	10	5	
Private	0	3	4	4	
NGO	0	1	1	1	
External actor	0	2	1	0	
Total	1	14	16	10	

Notes: There were three versions of policy formulation: 2003, 2006 and 2009. A mark against a respondent shows their participation in that version

Appendix 12: Comparative analysis on national ICT policy formulation in other African countries

Foreign aid intensity in the case studies

A comparison of the five case studies between 1990 and 1995 presented growing trends in aid intensity in Ghana, Malawi and Rwanda compared to a decline in Botswana and low intensity for South Africa (O'Connell & Soludo, 1998). Most countries in Africa had been receiving aid at “10% of GDP for 10 years or more” (Bräutigam & Knack, 2004, p.257). However, more than 40% of government expenditures in Malawi, Ghana and Rwanda were dependent on overseas development aid (ODA) for more than twenty years. Of the three countries, Rwanda topped the list at 99% of aid, Malawi at 89% came second while Ghana was the lowest at 30% around 1999 (Bräutigam & Knack, 2004, p. 258). Aid inflows were at 5.3% in Botswana while the literature did not present any numbers for South Africa. This was the same time that most initiatives on policy formulation started in the case study countries. A summary of the aid inflows is in A-D. 1.

A-D. 1: ODA as a Percentage of Government Expenditure
(Source: Bräutigam & Knack, 2004, p. 258)

Country	Percentage
Rwanda	99
Malawi	89
Ghana	30

The next four sections provide a summary of the policy processes that each of the case study countries followed in the development of national ICT policies. The sections also provide summaries of policy content.

Botswana case study

Botswana is a country located in Southern Africa. The National ICT policy development process in Botswana started in 2004 with the aim of complementing and building upon the country's Vision 2016 framework (GoB, 2004). The policy was developed and approved when Festus Mogae was Prime Minister in Botswana. A National Steering Committee championed the policy process while lower teams constituted the policy network. The steering committee championed the process with the assistance of seven Task Forces, which were responsible for the development of the policy. The policy process was highly consultative: it involved various stakeholders from the public sector, private sector and civil society organisations:

“The National ICT Policy has been completed with the assistance of approximately one thousand people from all segments of society and all parts of the country” (GoB, 2007, p.3).

Pre-policy surveys took the form of ICT benchmarking and e-Readiness assessments, which were undertaken in 2004 to determine the state of ICT diffusion in the country. While ICT benchmarking was intended to compare the ICT situation of Botswana relative to other countries, e-Readiness assessments examined Botswana's preparedness to participate in the global information society (GoB, 2004). The surveys enabled the development of the national ICT policy in 2005, which was intended to assist in achieving three specific outcomes (GoB, 2007, p.5):

- Creation of an enabling environment for the growth of an ICT industry in the country;
- Provision of universal service and access to information and communication facilities in the country; and

- Making Botswana a Regional ICT Hub so as to make the country's ICT sector globally competitive.

The policy network identified seven countries as relevant ICT benchmarks and best practice for the Botswana policy:

“Estonia (similar population and GDP); Malaysia (middle income export-based economy dominated by ICT growth); Mauritius (shift from agricultural to diversified economy); Namibia (heavily dependent on mineral exports); South Africa (closely linked to the Botswana economy); Trinidad and Tobago (large mineral exports and strong destination for ICT investment); and Canada (shift from rural to highly skilled labour base and economy resembling that of the United States)” (GoB, 2004, p.2).

The policy network also used international data sources such as the United Nations, the World Bank and the World Economic Forum as a basis for best practices (GoB, 2004).

Botswana used the incremental approach to ICT policy-making in which the policy network focused on building blocks such as national educational capacity, infrastructure, content and public sector service delivery through ICTs (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The policy was the effort of a National Steering Committee, seven Task Forces and key stakeholders (GoB, 2007). The Task Forces consisted of experts from different disciplines in the country:

“Special acknowledgement should be given to the seven Task Force committees, who gave up their valuable time to create the various key programmes and recommendations that facilitated the development of this Policy document” (GoB, 2007, p.3).

A-D. 2: A summary of key policy process information in Botswana

Policy approach	Incremental
Policy aim	Create an enabling environment for the growth of an ICT industry in the country
Start date	2004
Approval authority and date	National Assembly, 2007
Policy process champion	National Steering Committee, seven Task Forces
Policy development process	Several stakeholders were consulted; ICT benchmarking of successful countries undertaken
Financial support	Country's own funding

The policy network, which took the form of policy communities (Moran et al., 2006), comprised both ICT and non-ICT experts suggesting that the policy formulation took a user-centric approach (Doherty, Anastasakis, & Fulford, 2009). Each Task Force developed key programmes that placed the policy content into seven areas of application of ICTs (GoB, 2007, p.4):

- Community Access and Development
- Government
- Learning
- Health
- Economic Development and Growth of the ICT Sector
- Infrastructure and Security
- Legislation and Policy.

The country's National Assembly approved the national ICT policy in August 2007, three years after the policy process started (GoB, 2007). To summarise, the policy development in Botswana was the effort of different stakeholders who were consulted to provide input towards formulation of the final

policy. The process was completed under the leadership of one political leader. Benchmarking and E-Readiness assessments informed agenda setting for the development of the policy.

Ghana case study

Located in West Africa, Ghana shares its borders with Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast and Togo. The country began its policy development process with the appointment of a National ICT Policy and Plan Development Committee in 2003. This was during John Kofi Agyekum Kufuor's era as president (CIDOB, 2018). The committee was composed of high-ranking senior government officials from different disciplines within Ghana (GoG, 2003). Lack of guidelines on ICT issues, which caused duplications and thus wasted resources, triggered the formulation of the national ICT policy (GoG, 2003b). The main objective of the policy was:

“To engineer an ICT-led socio-economic development process with the potential to transform Ghana into a middle income, information-rich, knowledge-based and technology driven economy and society” (GoG, 2003b, p.8).

The formulation stage was highly consultative involving different categories of actors who included local actors and external actors (GoG, 2003). However, the local actors entirely owned the process of developing the policy (Dzidonu, 2003, p.6):

“The Ghana NICI process commenced in earnest after the Government set up the National ICT Policy and Plan Development Committee in August 2002 to guide the process, led by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology” (UNECA, 2007, p.26).

The EU funded policy-making activities in Ghana: *“This policy process was made possible with funding from the EU” (GoG, 2003, p.5).* This could be because the Government of Ghana did not have adequate economic capital to fund the policy-making activities. Ghana also received technical support from UNECA in the policy-making field. This could suggest that Ghana had limited cultural capital.

“The preparation of this report and the work of the committee were made possible by the Technical Assistance extended to the Government of Ghana by the United Nations Commission for Africa” (GoG, 2003, p.5).

The country adapted UNECA's sunrise model based on the NICI framework in developing its policy. The policy development process involved a wide range of stakeholders especially in the policy formulation stage.

A-D. 3: A summary of key policy process information in Ghana

Policy approach	NICI framework
Policy aim	Engineer an ICT-led socio-economic development process with the potential to transform Ghana into a middle income, information-rich, knowledge-based and technology driven economy and society
Start date	2003
Approval authority and date	Cabinet, 2005
Policy process champion	National ICT Policy and Plan Development Committee – high-ranking senior officials from different disciplines in Ghana
Stakeholders' consultations	Several local and external actors supported and made contributions to the policy
Financial support	EU financed the process

The policy consisted of the following 14 focus areas (GoG, 2003b, p.9):

- Accelerated Human Resource Development
- Promoting ICTs in Education – The Deployment and Exploitation of ICTs in Education
- Facilitating Government Administration and Service Delivery – Promoting Electronic Government and Governance
- Facilitating the Development of the Private Sector
- Developing an Export-Oriented ICT Products and Services Industry
- Modernization of Agriculture and the Development of an Agro-Business Industry
- Developing a Globally Competitive Value-Added Services Sector --- A Regional Business Service and ICT Hub
- Deployment and Spread of ICTs in the Community
- Promotion of National Health
- Rapid ICT and Enabling Physical Infrastructure Development
- Legal, Regulatory, and Institutional Framework Provisions
- R&D, Scientific and Industrial Research Capacity Development
- Promoting Foreign and Local Direct Investment Drive in ICTs
- Facilitating National Security and Law and Order

After two years of development work, the policy was approved in 2005 (CIDOB, 2018). In summary, the policy process was highly consultative and was undertaken under a single political leader. The policy was approved in a period of three years from the time the process began.

Rwanda case study

Rwanda is a small landlocked country located in East-Central Africa. Since 2000, the country has had one political leader, Paul Kagame, as president. The policy-making process in Rwanda started in 1998 under the auspices of the AISI of the ECA. A Steering Committee composed of senior members from the public, private and civil society organisations led the policy development process (GoR, 2001). An external consultant developed the first draft of the plan, which cabinet approved in 2000. The first phase focused on the development of a comprehensive ICT-led Integrated Socio-economic Development Framework for Rwanda, followed by the development of an ICT-led Integrated Socio-economic (ICT4D) Policy for Rwanda in 2000. The country's ICT4D Policy document was based on the need to achieve the aspirations of the Vision 2020 aimed at developing Rwanda into a middle-income economy by 2020.

The adoption of the NICI framework prompted agenda setting in Rwanda:

“Rwanda is one of the first African countries to embark on a NICI process and is currently the only sub-Saharan Africa ... country” (UNECA, 2007, p.13).

Policy formulation in Rwanda was undertaken between 1998 and 2000. Its aim was:

“To modernize the Rwandan economy and society using ... ICTs as an engine for: accelerated development and economic growth; national prosperity; and global competitiveness” (GoR, 2001, p.11).

There were wide consultations in the development of the policy framework:

“This framework document released in October 1999 was subjected to a wide-ranging consultation and dialogue within the Government and among other key stakeholders and the Rwanda public at large” (GoR, 2001, p.11).

Rwanda received technical assistance through UNECA who recruited a lead external consultant to support the work of the local actors (GoR, 2001, p.392). In this case, Rwanda had limited cultural capital and this is highlighted in a report:

“The Rwandan ICT-led socio-economic development policy and plan development process which was supported by UNECA within the framework of the AISI began in 1998. The process yielded four main outputs namely: the Framework, Policy, Plan and Structures” (GoR, 2001, p.3).

Several external actors, among them UNDP and SIDA, funded policy formulation:

“I would like to direct a special word of thanks to ... partners such as SIDA, UNDP, UNECA, UNIFEM and Microsoft who have worked closely with us and made resources available throughout the process as and when necessary. I am also particularly grateful to the World Bank who have agreed to support critical planned actions relating to e-Government through the e-Rwanda project, as well as to the other partners who have already signalled in one way or another continued support as we roll out the NICI-2010 plan” (GoR, 2006, p.5).

A-D. 4: A summary of key policy process information in Rwanda

Policy approach	NICI framework
Policy aim	Achieve broad socioeconomic development objectives within the Vision 2020 timeframe of 20 years
Start date	1998
Approval authority and date	Cabinet, 2000
Policy process champion	Steering Committee composed of senior members from the public, private and civil society organisations led the policy development process
Stakeholders’ consultations	Wide consultations of key stakeholders and the general public
Financial support	UNECA

The content of the policy focused on eight pillars (GoR, 2001, p.30):

- Human Resource Development;
- ICTs in Education;
- Facilitating Government Administration and Service Delivery;
- Developing and Facilitating the Private Sector;
- Deployment and Spread of ICTs in the Community;
- ICT Infrastructure Development, Legal Regulatory,
- Institutional Provisions and Standard; and
- Foreign Direct Investment Drive in ICTs.

Cabinet in Rwanda approved the national ICT policy in the year 2000 (GoR, 2001). The policy process began under the administration of President Pasteur Bizimungu and was completed during Paul Kagame’s era (CIDOB, 2018). It is on record that stakeholders were widely consulted during the development process.

South Africa case study

South Africa is located in Southern Africa. The country, which began the national ICT policy development process in the 1990s, initially adopted an incremental approach to ICT policy-making (Adam & Gillwald, 2007). The process started with the development of a telecommunications policy in 1996, then a postal policy in 1998, followed by broadcasting policy in 1998 and later E-Commerce policy in 1999. These developments took place during the presidency of Nelson Mandela (1991 to 1997) and Thabo Mbeki (1997 to 2008). Later in 2009 and 2010 under the leadership of Jacob Zuma, the country took an integrated approach to policy formulation (GSA, 2009/10 Annual Report of the

Department of Communications, 2010). Cabinet approved a review of all existing ICT related policies in 2012 and the the Minister of Communications appointed an ICT Policy Review Panel to steer the development process (GSA, 2015). Following a series of public consultations, the Panel developed a ‘White Paper’, which is an over-arching report on policy direction. Among other mandates, the Panel was to:

“determine policy goals and strategies for ICT research and development, applications development promotion, human capital development, investment in ICT markets for growth and development” (GSA, 2015, p.3).

The panel consulted stakeholders during the development of the policy process:

“This White Paper has been developed after considering the Panel recommendations and the inputs received from stakeholders through the policy review process” (GSA, 2016, p.8).

South Africa conducted benchmarking in the process of developing the White Paper:

“Benchmarking conducted on countries that have successfully begun the process of digital transformation reinforces the importance of national centralised leadership:

- ...
- *In Korea and the UK the transformation programme is led from a Commission/Minister in the Presidency.*
- *In Finland the Finance Ministry is responsible for e-government but this is managed by the Minister responsible for ICTs.*
- *In Estonia, digital transformation has been driven by the Prime Minister’s office and managed by the Minister responsible for ICTs. The focus of the Ministry is on coordination between different government departments and with local governments” (GSA, 2016, pp.24-25).*

A-D. 5: A summary of key policy process information in South Africa

Policy approach	Incremental at first but integrated later
Policy aim	Attain specific objectives in relation to telecommunications, postal and broadband focus areas
Start date	1996
Approval authority and date	Cabinet, from 1996
Policy process champion	Experts in Department of Communications
Stakeholders’ consultations	Experts initially led the process but overtime key stakeholders and the general public were consulted
Financial support	South African government funded the process

Although coined in a different way from other countries, six broad policy objectives informed the content of the integrated national ICT policy in South Africa as:

- Distinct roles and responsibilities
- Transparency and accountability
- Consumer Protection
- Universal Access and Service
- Technology Neutrality

- Open Access

In summary, the development of the national ICT policy in South Africa began in the 1990s with an organic approach to policy formulation. In the subsequent years, the government took an integrated approach to policy-making and policy objectives were determined through public consultation. Policy initiatives spanned over three political leaders.

Appendix 13: Principles for Interpretive Field Research (Klein & Myers, 1999, p.72)

Principle	Explanation	Example
Fundamental Principle of the Hermeneutic Circle	All human understanding is achieved by iterating between considering the interdependent meaning of parts and the whole that they form. This principle is fundamental to all the other principles.	Lee's (1994) study of information richness in e-mail communications. It iterates between the separate message fragments of individual e-mail participants as parts and the global context that determines the full meanings of the separate messages to interpret the message exchange as a whole.
Principle of Contextualisation	Requires critical reflection of the social and historical background of the research setting, so that the intended audience can see how the current situation under investigation emerged.	After discussing the historical forces that led to Fiat establishing a new assembly plant, Ciborra et al. (1996) show how old Fordist production concepts still had a significant influence despite radical changes in work organisation and operations.
The Principle of Interaction Between the Researchers and the Subjects	Requires critical reflection on how the research materials (or "data") were socially constructed through the interaction between the researchers and participants	Trauth (1997) explains how her understanding improved as she became self-conscious and started to question her own assumptions
The Principle of Abstraction and Generalization	Requires relating the idiographic details revealed by the data interpretation through the application of principles one and two to theoretical, general concepts that describe the nature of human understanding and social action.	Monteiro and Hanseth's (1996) findings are discussed in relation to Latour's actor- network theory.
The Principle of Dialogical Reasoning	Requires sensitivity to possible contradictions between the theoretical preconceptions guiding the research design and actual findings ("the story which the data tell") with subsequent cycles of revision.	Lee (1991) describes how Nardulli (1978) came to revise his preconceptions of the role of case load pressure as a central concept in the study of criminal courts several times.
The Principle of Multiple Interpretations	Requires sensitivity to possible differences in interpretations among the participants as are typically expressed in multiple narratives or stories of the same sequence of events under study. Similar to multiple witness accounts even if all tell it as they saw it.	Levine and Rossmore's (1993) account of the conflicting expectations for the Threshold system in the Bremerton Inc. case.
The Principle of Suspicion	Requires sensitivity to possible "biases" and systematic "distortions" in the narratives collected from the participants.	Forester (1992) looks at the facetious figures of speech used by city planning staff to negotiate the problem of data acquisition.